VEL NE

The

LIBRARY

# Church Quarterly Review.

Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, King's College, London.

No. 153

OCTOBER 1913.

Vol. LXXVII.

#### CONTENTS:

I.	THE CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT. By Viscount	PAGE
	WOLMER, M.P	1
II.	SAINT TERESA. By the Right Rev. Arthur Chandler,	
	BISHOP OF BLOEMFONTEIN	20
III.	THE GRACE OF ORDERS AND APOSTOLIC	
	SUCCESSION. By the Rev. F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E.	38
IV.	JANE AUSTEN. By Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth	95
v.	THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.	
	By the Rev. Maurice F. Jones, B.D., C.F	113
VI.	PRESBYTERIAN REUNION IN SCOTLAND. By the	
	Rev. J. G. SIMPSON, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's	133
II.	CHRISTIANITY AS A GOSPEL. By G. C. BOSANQUET	150
II.	THE CANADIAN UNITY PROPOSALS. By the Rev.	176
	H. F. HAMILTON, D.D., Ottawa	

#### LONDON:

SPOTTISWOODE & CO. LTD.
5 NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.

## MESSRS. HENRY SOTHERAN & CO.,

Booksellers to the King.

140 STRAND, W.C., and 43 PICCADILLY, W.,

Having lately bought, privately, the Libraries of several well-known Clergymen, have on hand a very large number of SECOND-HAND THEOLOGICAL WORKS, at extremely moderate prices. A Catalogue is in preparation, and will be sent, post free, on application; but Messrs. SOTHERAN will be glad to now receive the titles of any books that may be specially wanted, and to report them if in stock.



BIRMINGHAM: 79 Edmund Street.

LONDON: 43 Great Russell Street (Opposite the British Museum).

LIVERPOOL: Concert St., Bold St.

MANUFACTURERS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION

FURNITURE CHURCH

METAL, WOOD, STONE, AND TEXTILE FABRICS.

STAINED GLASS ARTISTS AND DECORATORS.

Designs, Patterns, and Estimates on application. Catalogues free to the Clergy.

## **CURATES' AUGMENTATION FUN**

PRESIDENTS:

His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. TREASURER: Rev. T. A. SEDGWICK.

This Society augments the stipends of Curates who have been more than 15 years in Holy Orders, and are still in full active work.

Of the 7,000 Curates very many have been ordained more than 15 years, and this number

is annually increasing

It is the only Society in England that directly increases the stipends of Curates of long ading. The 'QUEEN VICTORIA CLERGY FUND' does not help the Unbeneficed Clergy. standing. The 'QUEEN VICTORIA CLERGY FUND' does not help the Unbeneficed Clergy.

The Church is multiplying Curates three times as rapidly as she is multiplying Benefices.

Nearly £10,000 was voted last year in Grants.

The average stipend of those receiving Grants does not exceed £3 a week.

CHURCH COLLECTIONS, SUBSCRIPTIONS & DONATIONS thankfully received.

Office: 2 DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Rev. A. G. B. ATKINSON, Secretary,



## The Church Quarterly Review Advertiser.

nsets for the C.Q.R. should be sent to SPOTTISWOODE & CO. Ltd., New-street Square, London.

# Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

(Incorporated by Royal Charter A.D. 1701)

15 TUFTON STREET, WESTMINSTER

## The OBJECTS of the Society

To minister to our fellow-countrymen across the seas, and to propagate the Gospel among the Non-Christian races with whom they come in contact.

## he METHODS of the Society

S.P.G. makes grants to the Bishops over seas, to be spent by them in consultation with their Committees or Synods on the Missionary work in their Dioceses, and its Missionaries are selected by a Board appointed by the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London,

## he FIELD of the Society

The world represents the Society's Field for there is no part of the world to which our fellow-countrymen do not go.

## NEEDS of the Society

Urgent calls from all parts of the Field compel the Society to appeal for an ANNUAL INCREASE OF £75,000 for the General Fund, the greatest appeal ever made by the Society.

further particulars and information apply to the Secretary, 15 Tufton Street, Westminster.

Catalogue of the Society's literature will be sent on receipt of stamp.

stributions should be made payable to the Treasurers, S.P.G., and cheques crossed 'Messrs. Drummond.'

H. H. MONTGOMERY (Bishop),

## Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s New List

THE BAMPTON LECTURES FOR 1913.

- THE CHURCH IN ROME IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

  By the Rev. George Edmundson, M.A., formerly Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

  8vo. 7s. 6d. net. [On October 20]
- CHURCHES IN THE MODERN STATE. By the Rev. John Neville Figgis, Litt.D., Priest of the Community of the Resurrection. Crown 8vc. 4s. 6d. net.

EIGHTH AND CHEAPER IMPRESSION. IN ONE VOLUME.

- Con. and Camb., sometime Bishop of London. By his Wife. With Frontispiece. 8vo. 6s. net.
- HENRY BODLEY BROMBY, Hon. Canon of Bristol Cathedral and Vicar of All Saints', Clifton; sometime Dean of Hobar, Tasmania. A Memoir, By the Rev. J. H. B. Mace, M.A. With Illustration. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH THEOLOGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1800-1860). By the Rev. Vernon F. Storr, M.A., Canon of Winchester, formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net. [In October.
- NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE. By the Rev. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., Editor of the 'English Church Review.' Crown 8vo. 5s. net. [In October.
- THE RELIGIOUS INSTINCT. By THOMAS J. HARDY, M.A., Author of 'The Gospel of Pain.' Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

  [In October.]

  Company St. The Cry of the Hour.—The Religious Instinct. The Interpretation of Instinct.

CONTENTS: The Cry of the Hour—The Religious Instinct—The Interpretation of Instinct—Response—Personality and Miracle—Estrangement—Reconciliation—The Paradox of Christian History—Institutional Religion—Wanted, a Venture of Faith—Appendix.

- THE REV. W. B. TREVELYAN, M.A., Warden of Liddon House, and the Rev. J. E. DAWSON, M.A., Rector of Chislehurst. With a Preface on the Devotional use of the Bible by the Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.
- THE WORLD'S REDEMPTION. By C. E. Rolt. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

This may be described as a serious attempt to set forth some of the fundamental articles of the Christian Creed in relation to modern scientific thought, the main idea being the inadequacy of the current conceptions of omnipotence and omniscience and the complete sufficiency of the belief that God is love.

- A POINT OF VIEW: Addresses delivered in London and Manchester. By the Rev. A. C. Bouquer, M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, and Lady Kay Scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge. Crown Svo. 3s. 6d. net. [Ready.]
- JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE UNDER THE MACCABEES AND HEROD. By the Rev. B. H. Alford, M.A., late Vicar of St. Luke's, Nutford Place, London. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- OLD TESTAMENT LEGENDS: being stories out of some of the Less-known Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament. By M. R. James, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. With 10 Illustrations by H. J. Ford. Large crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

## Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s New List

GOD OR MAMMON: A Counsel of Perfection addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England. By the Venerable James H. F. Pelle, M.A., Archdeacon of Warwick. Crown 8vo. paper covers, 1s. net.

THE HOLY COMMUNION: A Manual Historical, Doctrinal, and Devotional. By the Right Rev. J. Denton Thompson, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man. Feap. 8vo.

[Nearly ready.]

NEW AND CHEAPER IMPRESSION.

HE INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST TO NON-CHRISTIAN RACES: An Apology for Christian Missions. By the Rev. C. H. Robinson, D.D., Honorary Canon of Ripon, Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G. Crown 8vo. paper covers, 1s. net; cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

SCHEMES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FOR INFANT DAY-SCHOOLS. Edited by Rev. R. W. Balleine, M.A., Diocesan Inspector for the Archdeaconry of Manchester. With a Foreword by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.

SOME LOOSE STONES, being a Consideration of certain Tendencies in Modern Theology, illustrated by References to the book called 'Foundations.' By the Rev. R. A. Knox, Fellow and Chaplain of Trinity College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

PRAYING FOR THE DEAD.' By the Rev. R. J. EDMUND BOGGIS, B.D., Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's, Barnstaple, North Devon; formerly Sub-Warden of St. Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

CHRISTIAN PROGRESS, WITH OTHER PAPERS AND ADDRESSES. By the Rev. George Congreve, of the Society of St. John Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford. Popular Edition. Crown 8vo. paper covers, 6d.

THE HYMN BOOK OF THE AGES: Being the Book of Psalms with a Short Commentary. By S. B. Macv. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE: A Book for Children, telling in simple language the 'old, old story' of the Gospels. By S. B. MACY. With 21 Illustrations. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

GRADED SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON BOOKS.

## London Diocesan Sunday School Manuals.

Issued with the authority of the BISHOP OF LONDON.

ditor-Rev. S.Kirshbaum, B.D., Hon. Secretary, Bishop of London's Sunday School Council.

FOUR NEW VOLUMES. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d. net each.

IMPLE LESSONS ON THE LIFE OF OUR LORD. By the Rev. H. A. LESTER, M.A., Director of Sunday School Work in the Diocese of London, and Miss Eveline B. Jennings.

[For Scholars, 8-10.

HE OLD TESTAMENT SUN-DAY LESSONS. By the Rev. A. B. BATER, M.A., Principal of the Training College, Derby. [For Scholars, 10-12. THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE CHURCH. By the Rev. W. HUME CAMPBELL, M.A., Principal of St. Christopher's College, Blackheath.

For Scholars 13 and over.

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By the Rev. Canon Wesley Dennis, M.A., Principal of the Training College, Battersea, and the Rev. G. H. Dix, M.A., Lecturer at St. John's College, Battersea.

For Scholars 13 and over.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

## SMITH, ELDER & CO.'S LIST

The Full Account of the British Antarctic Expedition, 1910-1913.

ON NOVEMBER 6. 2 VOLUMES. Royal 8vo. 42s. net.

### SCOTT'S LAST EXPEDITION

Volume I. Being the Journals of Captain R. F. Scott, C.V.O., R.N. With a Preface by Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S.

Volume II. The Reports of the Journeys and Scientific Work undertaken by Dr. E. A. Wilson and the surviving members of the Expedition. Arranged by LEONARD HUXLEY.

With 18 Coloured Plates, 8 Photogravures, 4 Facsimile Pages from Captain Scott's Diary, 260 Illustrations from Photographs and Maps.

- The Spirit of the Old Folk. By Major Gambier-Parry, Author of 'Allegories of the Land,' etc. Large post 8vo. 6s. net.
- The New Testament, the Authorised Version, corrected. The Text prepared by The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, P.C., K.C. (Solicitor-General 1886-1892), Author of 'The Epistles of St. Paul.' Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- The Western Rebellion of 1549. An Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall against religious innovations in the reign of Edward VI. By Mrs. Frances Rose Troup, F.R. Hist.S. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 14s. net.
- By Frederick Rogers. With a Portrait. Large post 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

  [October 23]
- The South African Scene. By Violet R. Markham, Author of 'South Africa, Past and Present,' etc. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. [October 23]

#### NEW 6/- NOVELS

- The Coryston Family. By Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD, Author of 'The Case of Richard Meynell,' 'The Mating of Lydia.'
  - Times.—'Its problems are Woman—dishevelledly agitated over suddenly realised "rights"; a democracy "in office" and at war with wealth; and the vexed problem of divorce. It is a lucid, spectacular disquisition on modern movements, a kind of literary pageant, presented in very engaging and provocative terms.'
- Thorley Weir. By E. F. Benson, Author of 'Dodo,' 'The Challoners,' 'Sheaves,' 'The Osbornes,' etc.
- Watersprings. By ARTHUR C. BENSON, Author of 'From a College Window,' 'The Child of the Dawn,' etc.

London: SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, S.W.

## MOWBRAYS' LIST.

LIFE OF JOHN COSIN, Bishop of Durham, 1660-72. By PERCY H. OSMOND, M.A. With Eight Collotype Illustrations. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

#### INTO THE PERFECT DAY.

A Collection of Prayers for the use of Students of Sacred Theology. Compiled by G. M. BEVAN, S.Th. With Preface by Rt. Rev. Bishop Ryle, Dean of Westminster. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net; Lambskin, 2s. 6d. net.

#### HE HOURS OF PRAYER.

From Lauds to Compline inclusive. Compiled from the Sarum Breviary and other Rites. New Miniature Edition, printed in red and black on India paper. French morocco, 4s, 6d, net; Rutland morocco, 6s, net; Turkey morocco, 8s, 6d, net; Levant, yapp edges, 12s, net. This Edition is unique among English Office Books as being the only complete book issued in a small pocket 2e, and will be greatly appreciated by Religious and Clergy when travelling.

#### PRAYER-BOOK REVISED.

Being the Services of the Book of Common Prayer, with sundry alterations and additions offered to the Reader. With a Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

NEW VOLUME IN THE ENGLISH CHURCHMAN'S LIBRARY. Cloth, with gilt top and marker, 1s. net; Leather, 2s. net.

#### HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH.

By the RIGHT HON. G. W. E. RUSSELL, LL.D.

HE

#### ROM TO THE GRAVE. THE CRADLE

Simple Instructions on the Sacraments. By A PRIEST. With Eleven Illustrations. Cloth, Is. 6d. net.

NEW VOLUME IN THE ARTS OF THE CHURCH. Edited by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D.

#### DRAMA. MALE RELIGIOUS

By GORDON CROSSE, M.A. With 26 Illustrations. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net.

Sixth and cheaper Edition. 2s. 6d. net.

#### GLORY. INVISIBLE

Selected Sermons preached by GEORGE HOWARD WILKINSON, D.D., late Bishop of St. Andrews; Primus of the Scottish Church. With a Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

#### MANUAL FOR CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCOUTS.

By A. KENNETH INGRAM. With a Preface by the RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF 6d. net; Cloth, is. net.

Dedicated, by Special Permission, ARCHBISHOPS of CANTERBURY YORK. and

## DICTIONARY CHURCH

Edited by the Rev. Canon S. L. OLLARD, M.A.

ice-Principal and Tutor of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, and Hon. Canon of Worcester.
Assisted by GORDON CROSSE, M.A., New College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn,

And by Nearly Seventy Contributors.

aper Royal 8vo. 690 pp., with Two Coloured Maps. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net. Half Morocco, 21s. net. India Paper Edition, Half Morocco, 25s. net.

New Illustrated Autumn List post free upon application.

. R. MOWBRAY & Co., Ltd., 28 Margaret St., Oxford Circus, LONDON, W.; and 9 High Street, Oxford.

## BELL'S NEW BOOKS.

- FICHARD WAGNER: Composer of Operas. By John F. Runciman, Musical Critic to the 'Saturday Review.' Demy 8vo. With Photogravure Frontispiece and other Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.
- THE COMEDY OF MANNERS. From Etherege to Farquhar. A History. By John Palmer, sometime Scholar of Baliol College, Oxford. Demy 8vo. With 12 Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.
- HORACE WALPOLE'S WORLD. A Study of Whig Society in the XVIIIth Century. By ALICE D. GREENWOOD, Demy 8vo. With Portraits. 12s. 6d. net.
- LIFE OF NAPOLEON I. By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D., Reader in Modern History, University of Cambridge. New and Cheaper Edition. With Photogravure Frontispiece and Maps and Plans. In one Volume. 6s. net.
  - 'To say that Dr. Rose has written the best life of Napoleon is but faint praise.'-Times.
- DEMOCRACY IN NEW ZEALAND. Translated from the French of André Siegfried. With an Introduction by Downie Stewart, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE JEWS OF TO-DAY. By Dr. A. RUPPIN. With a Preface by JOSEPH JACOBS, Litt.D. Translated by MARGERY BENTWICH. 6s. net.
- THE WORLD OF LABOUR. A Study of Trade-Unionism. By G. D. H. Cole, B.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.
- ROUND ABOUT A POUND A WEEK. A Study of Life amongst the Working Classes of South London. By Mrs. Pember Reeves. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE FUTURE OF THE THEATRE. By JOHN PALMER. Crown Syo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE FUTURE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

  By Mrs. H. M. SWANWICK. With an Introduction by Mrs. FAWCETT. Crown

  8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- TORYISM: A Political Dialogue. By Keith Feiling, M.A., Fellow of All Souls. With an Introduction by F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

The Most Complete Edition of 'Pepys.'

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS, M.A., F.R.S., Clerk of the Acts and Secretary to the Admiralty. The Rev. Mynors Bright's Transcription, Edited with Additions by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A. In 8 Vols., demy 8vo., with Portraits. 5s. each.

Vols. I.-VII., The Diary. Vol. VIII., Full Index.

New Volumes in 'Bohn's Libraries.'

LONDON: G. BELL & SONS, LTD., Portugal Street, W.C.

## WILLIAMS AND NORGATE'S ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WORKS BY Dr. RUDOLF EUCKEN.

- TRUTH OF RELIGION. Translated by the Rev. W. THE TUDOR JONES, Ph.D. (Jena). For some years a student under Professor Eucken at Jena. Second Edition, based on the latest German Edition, and containing nearly 100 pages of New Material. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 12s. 6d. net.
- KNOWLEDGE AND LIFE. Translated by the Rev. W. Tudor JONES, Ph.D. (Jena). Crown 8vo. Cloth. 5s. net. [In the Press
- PRESENT-DAY ETHICS. Being the Deem Lectures delivered at New York University. Translated by MARGARET VON LEGDEWITZ. Crown 8vo. Cloth. In the Press
- THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT. An Introduction to Philosophy. Translated by F. L. Pogson, M.A. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 4s. 6d. net.
- THE FOUNDATIONS OF DUTY; or, Man's Duty to God, His Fellow-men, and Himself. By the Rt. Rev. J. W. DIGGLE, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 3s. 6d. net.
- LIGHT THE FOUR GOSPELS. ON From the Sinai Palimpsest. By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, Hon. D.D. (Heidelburg), LL.D. (St. Andrews), &c. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 3s. 6d. net.
- EDUCATION AND ETHICS. By EMILE BOUTROUX. Authorised Translation by FRED ROTHWELL, Crown 8vo. Cloth. 5s. net.
  - NEW PHILOSOPHY: Henri Bergson. EDOUARD LE ROY. Translated by VINCENT BENSON, M.A. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 5s. net.

COMMENCING NEW VOLUME.

## THE HIBBERT

Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy.

#### OCTOBER No. Ready. Principal Contents:

The Progressive Party: A Movement to Relate Democratic Government to the Economic and Social Needs of a Democracy Theodore Roosevelt Some Laymen's Needs
The Relation of Mystic Experience to Philosophy
The Free-Man's Worship': A Consideration of Mr. Bertrand Russell's Views Sir Francis Younghusband Sir Frederick Pollock

Professor Priegle-Pattison Lord Ernest Hamilton \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* Immortality and Competition
The Significance of 'Non-Evidential' Material in Psychical Research... Lord Ernest Hamilton
Charles E. Ozanne
Cecil Reddie
F. W. Leith Ross
E. H. Jones
Professor H. H. Wendt
Rev. G. W. Wade
Professor John Erskine The Public Schools and the Empire ... ... ... ... ... ... International Morality
The Evolution of the Social Conscience towards Crime and Industrialism
The Historical Trustworthiness of the Book of Acts ... ... ... ... ... 

on Religion

Single Numbers, 2s. 6d. net. Post Free, 2s. 9d. Subscription, which may commence with any number, 10s. per annum, post free.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.

## ST. PAUL AND CHRISTIANITY.

By the Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D. Formerly Principal of King's College, London. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

The purpose of this book is to examine the writings of St. Paul as a whole in the light of other early Christian teaching and to show, as the writer maintains, that Paulinism does not represent any new departure in Christian thought but the natural development of fundamental Christian principles the germs of which are to be found in the teaching of Christ, and of the Primitive Church.

Dr. Headlam upholds the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians and regards it as even more representative of St. Paul's mind than the Epistle to the Romans. Incidentally the author expresses the right of the Romans. his views on all the important points raised by various schools of thought in regard to the writings and

doctrine of St. Paul.

# ROME, ST. PAUL AND

UENCE OF ROMAN LAW ON ST. PAUL'S AND ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

By the Rev. W. STEPHENS MUNTZ, D.D.,
Vicar of St. John's, Upper Holloway.

Large Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

This book deals with Rome's unconscious assistance to Christianity and with St. Paul's use of comtemporary law for the translation of profound spiritual conceptions into current thought. This feature of the Pauline doctrine has been too little studied hitherto by either writers or preachers because generally regarded as barren or unprofitable. In view, however, of recent archæological research impartial exegesis demands that a new value must be attached to this aspect of St. Paul's writings. The concluding charters deal with those sentiments are advantaged by a Parson, wale and legiting which had facilitated chapters deal with those sentiments, engendered by Roman rule and legislation, which had facilitated St. Paul's mission, but having been usurped by the Papacy for the aggrandisement of the Roman Church, were destined for centuries to thwart and obscure the Pauline doctrine.

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY.

#### READ THE LEADING MONTHLY REVIEW.

## The Nineteenth Century

AND



AFTER.

THE OCTOBER

How is Civil War to be averted? By Sir HENRY BLAKE, G.C.M.G. A Psychological View of the Irish Question. By Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C S.I., C.I.E.

What the Workmen think. KENNEDY

The Shortest and most Sanguinary Campaign on Record: Some Observations by an Englishman with the Greek Army. By Captain A. H. Trapmann.

October 14, 1066. By HAROLD F. WYATT. The Meaning of Memory. By W. S. LILLY. Denis Diderot. By FRANCIS GRIBBLE.

The Treatment of Inebriates, WILLIAM COLLINS, M.D., F.R.C.S.

Impressions of the Territorial Force. I Field-Marshal Lord Methuen, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.

NUMBER CONTAINS: The Danger in India. By H. FIELDING-HALL. Some Recent Notable Novels. By DARRELL FIGGIS.

Humour. By Miss S. Machaughtan.

The Collapse of the Catholic Revival.
By the Rev. A. H. T. CLARKE.

My Friends among the Home-Workers of London. By Miss Sydney K. Phelps.

The Animals' Salvation Army.
Hon, Mrs. Charlton,

Is the Present Neglect of Pope Merited? By the Rev. Francis St. John Thackeray.

The Balkan Outlook as seen from Vienna. By ÆNEAS O'NEILL.

Correspondence: S Sir Harry Johnston Of all Railway Bookstalls and Booksellers.

London: SPOTTISWOODE & CO. Ltd., 5 New-street Square, E.C.

## T. & T. CLARK'S NEW BOOKS

#### JESUS AND THE FUTURE.

By Rev. Edward W. Winstanley, D.D. Cambridge. 7/5 net.

#### STUDIES IN THE APOCALYPSE.

By Prof. R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D. Oxford. 4/6 net.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By Ven. Archdeacon Willoughby C. Allen, M.A.; and Rev. L. W. Grensted, M.A., B.D. 5/= net.

#### CHRIST THE CREATIVE IDEAL.

Studies in Colossians and Ephesians. By Rev. W. L. Walker, author of 'The Spirit and the Incarnation,' &c., &c. 5/-

#### THE EPISTLE OF PRIESTHOOD.

Studies in the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Prof. ALEX. NAIRNE, King's College, London. Ready in October. 8/= net.

#### THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D. 4/= net. A revised edition of the first part of Prof. Sayce's work 'The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.'

#### A MIRROR OF THE SOUL.

Studies in the Psalter. By Rev. Canon J. VAUGHAN, M.A., Winchester. A new volume of 'The Short Course Series.' 2/= net.

**EDINBURGH** LONDON. &z CLARK

London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co., Ltd

## FOURFOLD GOSPE

SECTION I.-INTRODUCTION

By Edwin A. Abbott, Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Demy 8vo. 2s 6d net

'The book is an introduction to a work on the Fourfold Gospel. That work is not to be a Harmony or Diatessaron, but is to concern itself with the things that are in some sense attested "through four." . . . Everywhere throughout this volume Dr. Abbott is suggestive. He is always reverent in criticism, and his exact scholarship and wide learning fit him pre-eminently for the study of the Gospels."—Athenæum

Cambridge University Press

#### Conducted in Proper Form and with Appropriate Fittings, APPROVED OF BY

THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and Recommended by the Clergy, by

#### THOMAS VIGERS.

Undertaker to the Guild of S. Alban.

COMBINED HAND AND WHEEL MAKER OF THE PALLS AND MORTUARY CHAMBER FITTINGS LENT ON HIRE.

MONUMENTAL MASON.

3 ECCLESTON STREET, BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S.W. Telegrams: 'GLOOMY, LONDON. Telephone No. 4554 VICTORIA.

Branch: 47 CRAWFORD STREET, BRYANSTON SQUARE, W. Telephone No. 117 PADDINGTON.

VALUER FOR PROBATE, &c.



BY APPOINTMENT TO THE LATE KING EDWARD VII.

## STAINED GLASS WINDOWS. CHURCH DECORATIONS

Memorial Brasses.

Mosaics. Tablets. &c.

CHURCHES VISITED. ESTIMATES AND DESIGNS FURNISHED FREE OF CHARGE.

## HEATON, BUTLER & BAYNE,

14 GARRICK STREET, LONDON, W.C.,

AND NEW YORK.

Illustrated List of Churches in all parts of the World, where examples of the firm's work may be seen, will be forwarded on application.



# KOLA TONIC

A NON-INTOXICATING LIQUEUR

THAT TIRED FEELING.

KOLA TONIC revives and fortifies, and has a delicious flavour, is invaluable to all enduring fatiguing work or exercise, whether mental or muscular.

A SAMPLE Bottle will be sent for P.O. value 1/- to THE PURE WATER CO. LTD.

QUEEN'S ROAD, BATTERSEA, S.W.

# CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY.

OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL:

DENISON HOUSE, VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, S.W.

Patron-HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President-

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Chairman-FIELD-MARSHAL LORD METHUEN, G.C.B.

Treasurers—Sir H. B. PRAED, Bart., G. T. PILCHER, Esq., and G. J. MARJORIBANKS, Esq.

- I. **OBJECT.**—To organise charitable effort and to improve the condition of the poor by
  - I.—Propagating sound principles and views on the administration of charity and social work generally.
  - II.—Co-operation and combination with official and voluntary agencies and charitable persons.
  - III.—Procuring for the needy suitable and adequate assistance after thorough investigation, interim aid being given when necessary.
  - IV.—To discourage at once imposture and inefficient charitable action.
- II. METHODS.—District Committees have been established in every part of London. Their duties are
  - I.—To act as a nucleus for charitable workers within the District.
  - II.—To deal with all cases of distress brought to their notice.

The Council are the representative governing body of the Society. They furnish gratuitously, to all who desire it, information and advice on general questions on particular Institutions, and issue publications for the same purpose.

Similar Societies have been established also in many important towns.

The **CHARITY ORGANISATION REVIEW**, the official organ of the Society, published throughout the year, is sent post free for a year for 7s. 6d.

Contributions for the work of the Society are earnestly requested, and may be paid at the Central Office, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W., or to the account of the 'Charity Organisation Society' with Messrs. Courts & Co., 440 Strand, W.C.

C. S. LOCH, Secretary.

## KING'S COLLEGE,

#### LONDON.

#### (DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY.)

Dean-The Rev. A. CALDECOTT, D.D.

#### FACULTY of ARTS.

Students of the College can take the Degree of B.A. as Internal Students after three years' study in the College; as External Students at any time not less than three years from their original Matriculation. The College provides instruction in all the usual subjects. In some subjects instruction is also provided in Evening Lectures, and a Student can qualify in this department alone, or partly by Day and partly by Evening work.

#### FACULTY of THEOLOGY.

The Degree of B.D. in the University can be obtained by Graduates in Arts after two

years' study, by other Matriculated Students after three years.

The Associateship of King's College is accepted at present by most Bishops as the academic qualification for admission to Holy Orders. It can be obtained by Graduates in Arts after one year's theological study; by others who have passed certain examinations at school, or later, after two years' study; and by others after a year of Preliminary study and the two years' ordinary theological course.

A considerable portion of the study may be taken in the Evening Department. There are Entrance Exhibitions both for Graduates and for other Students.

#### Staff.

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY: Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D., Professor; Rev. W. R. MATTHEWS, M.A., B.D., Lecturer.

EXEGESIS OF NEW TESTAMENT: Rev. H. J. WHITE, D.D., Professor; Rev. S. C. E. LEGG, M.A., Assistant Professor; Rev. S. KIRSHBAUM, M.A., B.D., Lecturer.

HEBREW AND EXEGESIS OF OLD TESTAMENT: Rev. A. NAIRNE, M.A., Professor; Rev. H. F. B. COMPSTON, M.A., Assistant Professor.

RABBINICAL HEBREW: Rev. C. H. Box, M.A., Lecturer.

SYRIAC AND ARAMAIC: Rev. S. C. E. LEGG, M.A.

ASSYRIAN: L. W. KING, M.A., Lecturer.

PATRISTIC TEXTS: Rev. CLAUDE JENKINS, M.A., Lecturer.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY: Rev. J. P. WHITNEY, B.D., D.C.L., Professor.

PASTORAL AND LITURGICAL THEOLOGY: Rev. G. E. NEWSOM, M.A., Professor; Rev. C. F. ROGERS, M.A., Lecturer; Rev. Canon Peter Green, M.A., Special Lecturer for 1914,

MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY: Rev. A. CALDECOTT, D.D., D.Litt., Professor; Rev. W. R. MATTHEWS, M.A., B.D., Lecturer.

MUSIC: J. E. VERNHAM, Professor. ELOCUTION: F. J. KIDSON, Lecturer.

CHAPLAIN: Rev. S. C. E. LEGG, M.A.

#### FEES.

For the Arts Course ... 21 Guineas a year.
Evening Classes ... 10 Guineas a year.
For the Theological Course ... 30 Guineas a year.

Evening Classes ... £18 a year.

For full information apply to the SECRETARY, KING'S COLLEGE, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

## CAMPAIGN

AGAINST

# WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

The determination of the Government to force the Disestablishment Bill through Parliament before a General Election compels Churchmen to redouble their efforts to defeat this cruel and unjust measure.

The Central Church Defence Committee are carrying on a CAMPAIGN, by means of DEMONSTRATIONS, MEETINGS, LECTURES, and a WIDESPREAD DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE, in order that the electorate may more fully realise the cruelty and injustice which the Disestablishment Bill proposes to inflict on the Church in Wales and the injury to religion.

Churchmen, of every political party, are invited to support this campaign by CONTRIBUT-ING LIBERALLY to the funds which are required for the purpose.

Cheques (crossed Messrs. Hoare) may be sent to the Secretary, at the offices of the Central Church Committee in the Church House, Westminster, S.W.

T. MARTIN TILBY, Secretary.

# OETZMANN &CO.

NR. TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.

Telegrams: 'OETZMANN, LONDON.'
Stations—Met. Rly.: EUSTON SQUARE.

Telephone: MAYFAIR, 101.
Tube: WARREN STREET.

DELIVERY BY MOTOR 50 MILES RADIUS.

25 PREPAID ORDERS CARRIAGE: PAID ENGLAND OR WALES.



## WELLS GARDNER, DARTON & CO., LTD.

JUST PUBLISHED.

#### PERSONALITY AND WOMANHOOD

By R. M. WILLS, formerly of Somerville College, Oxford. With Preface by OANON RANDOLPH, D.D. Cloth, 5s. net.

A dispassionate view of the woman's movement from the religious standpoint. The lofty moral and Christian tone is unmistakable, and it is kept at the same high level throughout.

JUST PUBLISHED.

#### THE OBLIGATION OF PRAYER

By BISHOP DRUITT, Coadjutor Bishop of Grafton and Armidale. With Commendation by the ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE. 150 pages, Cloth Boards, 1s. net: Paper Cover, 6d. net. (Published on behalf of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND MEN'S SOJIETY.)

#### FATHER STANTON

By JOSEPH CLAYTON. Cloth Boards, 2s. net; Paper Boards, 1s. net.
A Popular Up-to-date Life of FATHER STANTON.

A Most Important Work, 3rd Edition.

#### MARRIAGE AND THE SEX PROBLEM

By Dr. F. W. FOERSTER, Special Lecturer in Ethics and Psychology at the University of Zurich.
Translated by MEYRIOK BOOTH, B.Sc., Ph.D. Cloth, 5s. net.

'The most satisfactory book on this question.'-T.P.'s Weekly.

'For a clear, wholesome statement of the truth we have to recommend Dr. Foerster's book. . . We cannot praise the whole treatment too highly. — Church Times.

Over 40,000 Copies of this work have been sold in Germany.

London: WELLS GARDNER, DARTON & CO., LTD., 3 & 4 Paternoster Buildings, E.C.; and 44 Victoria Street, S.W.

#### THE

## CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 153.

OCTOBER 1913. Vol. LXXVII.

#### For List of Articles see Cover.

	SHORT NOTICES.	PAGE
L,	BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES: The Bible To-day. By the Bishop of Norwich.—Jeremiah. By A. W. Streane.—Haggai-Jonah. By H. G. Mitchell and others.—Thessalonians. By J. E. Frame.—The Johannine Epistles. By A. E. Brooke.—Galatians. By C. W. Emmet.—The Great Salvation. By C. R. Cuff.—Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet. By E. A. Abbott.—The Odes of Solomon. By the Bishop of Ossory	
IJ.	RELIGION AND ETHICS: Moral Life and Moral Worth. By W. R. Sorley.— Practical Psychology. By I. Gregory Smith.—The Dawn of Character. By E. E. R. Mumford.—Conduct and its Disorders. By C. A. Mercier.—Circumstances or Character. By C. F. Rogers.—Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, V.	197
III.	PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY: The Passion of Christ. By J. S. Stone.—The Wondrous Passion. By F. W. Drake.—The Glory after the Passion. By J. S. Stone.—Celestial Fire. By R. White	
IV.	MISSIONS: Kurds and Christians. Edited by F. N. Heazell and Mrs. Margoliouth	209
V.·	HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES: Dictionary of English Church History. Edited by S. L. Ollard.—Registrum Iohannis de Pontissara.—Registrum Thome de Charlton. Edited by W. W. Capes.—Lincoln Episcopal Records. Edited by C. W. Foster.—Minority of Henry III. By K. Norgate.—Early English Dissenters. By C. Burrage.—Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men. By L. F. Brown.—The Cambridge Baptists. By B. Nutter.—Byways in British Archaeology. By W. Johnson	211
VI.	TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION: Trans-Himalaya, III. By Sven Hedin.—A  Motor-Flight through France. By E. Wharton.—The Seine from Havre to  Paris. By Sir E. Thorpe.—Wayfaring in France. By E. H. Barker	225
II.	BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE: John Smith of Harrow. By E. D. and G. H. Rendall.—J. H. Pollen. By A. Pollen.—J. W. Clark. By A. E. Shipley.—Among my Books. By F. Harrison.—Livingstone and Newstead.	
	By A. L. Fraser	231
F	Periodicals and Books Received	240

#### PROTECTION FROM FIRE

# BRYANT & MAY'S

SPECIAL PATENT

SAFETY MATCHES

32 AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE.

## MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

A FATHER IN GOD: The Episcopate of William West Jones, D.D., Archbishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of South Africa, 1874-1908. By Michael H. M. Wood, M.A., late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, Diocesan Librarian of the Diocese of Capetown. With Introduction by the Yen. W. H. Hutton, B.D., and Portraits and other Illustrations. 8vo.

\* \* This book is not only the life of an able and devoted prelate, but is virtually a history of the Church in South Africa during many eventful years, for each Diocese of the Province owed much to its Metropolitan, and each therefore has a place in the record of his long episcopate.

NEW BOOK BY AUTHOR OF 'PRO CHRISTO ET ECCLESIA.'

PRACTICE OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Author of THE (Shortly) 'Pro Christo et Ecclesia,' Crown 8vo.

THE CHURCH AND THE DEMOCRACY, AND OTHER SERMONS. Preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster. By Rev. W. H. Carnegie, M. A., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. Crown 8vo. (Shortly) A re-interpretation of Christian doctrine in the light of the social movement.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS. Hulsean Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge, 1912-13. By Rev. H. Latimer Jackson, M.A., B.D. Crown 8vo. (Shortly)

VOLUME IV. JUST PUBLISHED.

LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. An Historical Survey. By the late James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt. Vol. IV. Edited by William Hunt, M.A., D.Litt. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

The Athenaum.—'This volume of upwards of 400 pages is beyond doubt a highly important, and in many respects a novel, contribution to the difficult problems of the opening of Queen Mary's reign.'

\*\*\* Previously published, Vols. I. and II., 21s. net; Vol. III., 10s. 6d. net.

SEVENTH THOUSAND.

FOUNDATIONS. A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought. By SEVEN OXFORD MEN: B. H. Streeter, R. Brook, W. H. Moberly, R. G. Parsons, A. E. J. Rawlinson, N. S. Talbot, W. Temple. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

PART VI. JUST PUBLISHED.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH. A Study in Magic and Religion. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Third Edition, Revised and enlarged, 8vo. Part VI, The Scapegoat. 10s. net.

The Globe. - It would be a mere impertinence to praise the acumen, the tireless industry, and the extraordinary erudition which have made him easily the first authority on the origins of human beliefs; we can only express our thankfulness that his energy is unimpaired, and that he is still able to develop ever more and more the inexhaustible subject he has made his own.

PROPERTY: Its Duties and Rights—Historically, Philosophically and Religiously Regarded. A Series of Essays by various writers. With Introduction by the Bishop of Oxford. 8vo.

VOLUME I. JUST PUBLISHED.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES. Edited by Wilhelm Windelband and Arnold Ruge. English Edition under the Editorship of Sir Henry Jones. 8vo.

Vol. I. Logic. By Arnold Ruge, Wilhelm Windelband, Josiah Royce, Louis Couturat, Benedetto Crocé, Federigo Enriques, and Nicolaj Losskij. Translated by B. ETHEL

MEYER. 7s. 6d. net.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRACTICAL, ECONOMIC AND ETHIC. By Benedetto Crocé. Translated by Douglas Leslie, B.A. Oxon., M.R.A.S. 8vo. 12s. net. November 4.

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

## CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. CLIII. October 1913.

#### ART. I.—THE CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT.

- I. Essays on Church Reform. Edited by Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., Canon of Westminster [now Bishop of Oxford]. (London: John Murray. 1898.)
- 2. Church and Reform. Edited by Montague Barlow, M.P. (London: Bemrose and Sons. 1902.)
- 3. Church and Faith. Edited by Montague Barlow, M.P. (London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1899.)
- 4. A History of the Church of England. By H. O. WAKEMAN. (London: Rivington. 1904.)
- 5. Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents. Edited by C. Grant Robertson. (London: Methuen and Co. 1904.)
- 6. Journals of the House of Commons, 1880-1913.
- 7. Digest of Laws and Decisions Ecclesiastical and Civil relating to the Constitution, Practice, and Affairs of the Church of Scotland. By the Rev. W. MAIR, D.D. (London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1912.)
- 8. The Book of Church Law. By the Rev. J. H. Blunt, D.D. New Edition. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1913.)

And other Works.

THE Disestablishment Campaign against the four Welsh dioceses must awake in the minds of Churchmen important thoughts besides mere opposition to a measure which the great majority of them believe to be disastrous and wicked.

YOL. LXXVII.—NO. CLIII.

B

It must lead them to review for themselves the constitutional position of the Church and, now that it has been called in question, to consider what her interests demand should be altered therein as well as what they require should be maintained. Simple resistance is hardly ever adequate defence; a sound comprehension on the part of the defenders of the weakness as well as the strength of their position coupled with a determination to remedy all ascertained defects is the surest way of defending an honoured cause.

The great majority of Churchmen adhere firmly to the principle of a National Church; they regard the national recognition of God as an essential feature of the State, the foundation stone of a healthy polity, the sanctification of all civic life. If this recognition and national submission cannot be accomplished through their own Church they would far rather that it were through another, as in Scotland, than that there were none at all. It is a principle on which they are not prepared to compromise. While the principle of a National Church, however, must be maintained, it does not follow that the present conditions of the Establishment of the Church of England are incapable of improvement in detail, and if the connexion between Church and State. which has its roots in the dim origins of British history, is to be preserved, it is for its defenders to see that the conditions of that connexion are as well adapted to the needs of both Church and State to-day as they have been in ages past.

The fundamental difference between the ecclesiastical condition of England in the Middle Ages and that which obtains now-a-days is that, whereas in mediaeval times the Church embraced every subject in the land, to-day a large section of the community have renounced their allegiance to her altogether. This, of course, has been the principal cause of the now rapidly waning Disestablishment movement. The Nineteenth century individualists who almost denied the corporate character of the State considered it an infringement of the rights of each Nonconformist that the Government of his country should be identified with a Church to whose tenets he could not subscribe. Not the

least of all the disasters that have followed the disruption of Christendom has been that States composed of Christians have hauled down the Christian banner altogether because their citizens could not agree from which flagstaff it should fly.

Fortunately, however, that school of thought which desires to see Church and State divorced no longer expresses the spirit of the age. The corporate existence of nations is now generally recognized, and with it corporate character and responsibility. No longer is Gallio the model ecclesiastical statesman: every nation must represent a religious or materialistic ideal, must serve God or Mammon. Our unhappy religious differences therefore, while they do not in any way diminish the necessity of national acknowledgment of Christianity, do render the relations between Church and State more delicate and complicated than they were when the two were coterminous. It is the object of this article to point out some of the complications that have been introduced by the changed circumstances, and the way in which they affect the well-being of the Church.

Ι

Since the National Church in this country dates from times when the Church of England was the entire English nation in its religious aspect, its machinery is still constructed on the assumption that Nonconformists do not really exist. Parliament, representing the people of England in their civic capacity, is still supposed to represent the faithful laity of the Church and therefore to be competent and entitled to take an intimate part in ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs.

In the history of the relations of the State to the Church in England two principles will be seen to stand through all the changing ages and their different circumstances. On the one hand the State recognized the spiritual independence of the Church and did not feel competent to legislate in spiritual matters without her assent; but on the other the State demanded a certain controlling voice or veto in

ecclesiastical affairs to protect her subjects against hierarchical oppression. Thus, if we turn to the Middle Ages we shall see the ecclesiastical situation summed up in the settlement of the Investiture question. Bishops were recognized to derive their spiritual authority from the Church, their civic importance from the Sovereign. Henry I renounced the claim to invest Bishops with their ring and staff, but insisted on St. Anselm taking an oath of feudal homage to him. William the Conqueror allowed the Church to have her own ecclesiastical courts, and Henry II could never bring the Constitutions of Clarendon into force because he could not get the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury to them. The first sentence of Magna Carta is 'Libera sit ecclesia anglicana —the Church of England shall be free.' On the other hand, when the Church at the Council of Merton in 1236 wanted to alter the bastardy laws by legitimizing the pre-marriage children of married persons, the Barons refused their consent in the phrase 'nolumus leges Angliae mutari,' and the parliaments of Edward I and Edward III passed the Statutes De Religiosis, Circumspecte agatis and Praemunire, against the growing privileges and abuses of the clergy. If we examine the changes of the Reformation period we shall see that Henry VIII, though he in fact bullied and plundered the Church, yet was careful not to infringe upon her spiritual independence in principle. The Act of Submission of the Clergy, the Royal Supremacy 'so far as the law of Christ will allow,' the Ten Articles of 1536, the Act of the Six Articles of 1539, were all promulgated, or approved of, by Convocation before they were passed through Parliament or issued on Royal Authority. In the same way the Ecclesiastical Settlement of the Restoration was accomplished by Convocation drawing up the Prayer Book in 1661 and Parliament ratifying it by inserting it as a schedule to the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

The relations of the Church to the State to-day are based upon exactly the same principle, but two new circumstances considerably alter the practical effect of the relationship and have done much to deprive the Church of the spiritual independence which has been hers and is her due. In the first place, one of the results of the Reformation unrest has been that the Church for her own protection has been hedged in by Acts of Parliament. storms of religious controversy were sweeping over Europe, when the foundations of every ecclesiastical edifice were shaking, when every dogma of theology was questioned. when nations were divided into hostile camps and each new sovereign sought to undo the work of his predecessor, the Church of England found it necessary to fortify her position by the protection of the law. During the controversy of Henry VIII with the Pope and after the Cromwellian persecution of the Church, this was probably a most necessary precaution, and indeed it has assisted in securing to the Church a firmness of position that has been one of her chief sources of strength. But, on the other hand, it was a system that could only work so long as Parliament was an assembly of Churchmen, willing and qualified to play its part in amending ecclesiastical law when necessary. At the present moment though Convocation meets regularly and can, with the assent of the Crown, enact canons, it cannot change anything which is embodied in an Act of Parliament, and, as the legislation of the Reformation period practically covered every department of ecclesiastical organization, Convocation can do hardly anything of its own accord. Thus, the Prayer Book cannot be altered without an Act of Parliament, because the Prayer Book is a schedule to the Act of Uniformity of 1662; no new bishopric can be created without an Act of Parliament, because the limits of existing episcopal jurisdictions are fixed in the Statute book. It is obvious therefore that if this system is to work smoothly, and modifications in ecclesiastical law are to be effected as changing conditions and the development of the Church require, Parliament must be in every sense a Church assembly, as representative of the faithful laity as were the mediaeval Parliaments. That was the basis of the Restoration Settlement; Dissenters were excluded from Parliament because Parliament had to enact ecclesiastical as well as civil legislation.

It was impossible, however, that Nonconformists should be permanently excluded from Parliament, and within fifty years of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 the second of the two new conditions alluded to above came about. Parliament ceased to be an assembly of Churchmen. The Act of Union with Scotland in 1706 admitted Presbyterian Scottish Members into the House of Commons, and a hundred years later the Act of Union with Ireland, together with the Roman Catholic Relief Act, brought in Irish Romanists as well as Presbyterians from Ulster, while subsequent legislation has thrown open the doors of Parliament to other Christian Nonconformists and to Jews and atheists as well.

One of the essential features of English Establishment, that Parliament should be representative of the Anglican laity, was thus violated, and the whole balance of the Restoration Settlement upset. It is true that the danger that might arise to the Church from this was recognized and it was therefore made an express condition of the treaty of Union, both with Scotland and with Ireland, in the most solemn manner possible, that the Church of England should not be attacked in her rights and privileges by the United Parliament. This was, however, a futile precaution, since it is impossible legally to bind a Sovereign Parliament. and how lightly a debt of honour rests on the shoulders of succeeding generations can be seen by glancing at the lists of Scottish and Irish Members who have voted steadily for all the stages of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which, without their votes, would have been defeated

The effect of this alteration was important from the very first. After the Act of Union with Scotland, Parliament had never the same loyalty to the Church. During the Eighteenth century the Whigs dominated both Houses, while the clergy were in the main Tories. The Sovereign too was nearly always far more of a Lutheran than a Churchman. The result was that the Church suffered a persecution more dangerous than ever fell to her lot, because it consisted in killing her by a slow poison rather than by sudden assault. What the stake, the

block, and the rack could never do, the venom of political jobbery nearly accomplished. Convocation was in 1717 suppressed as a nuisance. The bench of Bishops was often stuffed with worthless Whigs, the Church was deprived of her true leaders, her Wesleys, her Fletchers and her Venns; there were none to speak for her, none to plead her cause.

And so it was that, as the organic life of the Church became more enfeebled. Parliament was thrown more and more open to Dissenters without any liberty of self-government being accorded in compensation to the Church, until the extraordinary position was reached that the only body that had authority to enact laws for the Church was largely composed of men of other religions or of none. At the present moment there is in the House of Commons, whose consent would have to be obtained before the boundaries of a single Diocese could be altered, a clear majority who can in no sense be called members of the Church of England. The effect of this upon the Church has been no less deplorable than might be supposed. The number of Members of Parliament who care about the welfare of the Church is comparatively small; it is almost impossible to stir the interests of the House in any legislation for the benefit of the Church; no Government can be induced to give the necessary time for urgent ecclesiastical reforms. Little legislation benefiting the Church in these matters can be passed unless it be by common consent, and thus the opposition or obstruction of a single member, whether a Churchman or not, can defeat the most necessary and uncontentious measures of reform.

#### II

How great a need there is for the passage of many laws upon which the great majority of Churchmen of all parties have long been agreed can be seen at a simple survey. Let us take, for instance, the flagrant obstruction of Bishopric Bills. For years past most Churchmen have recognized the need for a considerable increase in the Episcopate. The population of the country and the work of the Church during the last century have greatly expanded, an insufficient number of new Sees have been created to cope with the increased work, so that the Bishops are in many cases being overworked to death and are yet often unable adequately to supervise their dioceses. When the total population of England and Wales was under five million souls Archbishop Cranmer increased the number of Bishops from twenty-two to twenty-eight and left on record his earnest desire and intention of creating nine more Sees. To-day when the population is over forty millions there are only forty dioceses, whereas on Cranmer's standard there ought to be two hundred and ninety-six! Increased facilities of communication and the schism of a large section of the nation have, of course, made such a number altogether unnecessary; but, if thirty-seven dioceses were needed in the reign of Henry VIII, it is obvious that forty cannot be enough to-day. Let it be remembered too that until the 'Bishoprics of Sheffield, Chelmsford, and for the County of Suffolk Act' was fortunately passed this August, we had actually only the number of Bishops that the Reformers considered requisite for a population one-eighth the size of ours. It is not too much to say that the efficiency of the Church requires at least one Bishop to every countyarea, with additional bishoprics in our great cities, so that every See shall contain not more than about two hundred parishes whose clergy and congregation shall have some chance of really being known by their 'Father in God.'

But how has Parliament responded to the demand of Churchmen of all parties for an increased Episcopate? Although every single penny of endowment had been raised for the Bishopric of Southwark by 1900: the Bill which passed the House of Lords in 1901 was blocked in the House of Commons by a handful of members every succeeding session until the Government were at last induced to take the matter up and get it through in 1904. The Bishopric of Sheffield Bill which has just been carried suffered the same fate. It was first introduced in 1909 and successfully

obstructed by a mere handful of members until last August, when it was only passed during the small hours of the morning in the last week of the session, whilst the obstructionists happened to be absent. Other Bills for the alteration of the boundaries of the dioceses of Bristol and Rochester, though several times introduced, have not yet been passed, and the Bishoprics Bill to facilitate the creation of new sees has now been obstructed for the fifth year in succession. It is surely a grave scandal that every possible impediment should be put in the way of the creation of new Bishoprics, the funds for which have already been voluntarily subscribed by Churchmen, and that Bills of this nature should have to be dodged through while some faddist is away. The case of the Benefices Act and the Clergy Discipline Act is every whit as bad. The Clergy Discipline Act had long been very urgently required; until it was passed it was extremely difficult and often impossible for a Bishop to get rid of an incumbent of a parish in his diocese who had been guilty of gross immorality. Although the great majority of our parish clergy are men of most devoted lives, occasionally terrible scandals used to arise in parishes without any possibility of the offending priest being removed. It is difficult to believe that any Christian men would hinder the removal of this blot from the discipline of the Church. Yet although this Bill passed the House of Lords in 1888 it was violently opposed in the House of Commons and did not pass until 1892, and then only with the assistance of the Government and the use of the Closure—a leading Nonconformist being so open in his obstruction that he was publicly rebuked by the Speaker.

The Benefices Act carried further the power of a Bishop to remove undesirable clergymen and put a check on the sale of next presentations to livings—a source of long-standing abuse, to remedy which other Bills had been introduced into the House as far back as 1853. It was a measure which dealt with no question of doctrine; it did not affect the interests of any other denomination; it did not offend the susceptibilities of any school of Churchmen.

No direct grounds of opposition were ever alleged against it. It was introduced in 1896 and sent to a Standing Committee, but after it had passed the Standing Committee it was not allowed to go any further. It was again obstructed in 1897. In 1898, it was sent to a Standing Committee and reported to the House without amendment; it then had to be dropped and an altogether weaker measure had to be substituted in its place by the Government and passed under their auspices, several important points of reform being thus altogether lost to the Church. In the same way such purely non-controversial Church Bills as the Reform of Convocation Bill, which was blocked in 1900 and 1901, and the Archdeaconry of Cornwall Bill, which was obstructed from 1888 every year until it finally passed with Government assistance in 1897, have been shewn no mercy by the House of Commons.

Many other Church Bills of a purely administrative and non-contentious nature have suffered the same fate, but the Journals of the House of Commons do not shew the extent to which the normal development of the Church has been hindered. Many measures, perhaps of minor importance in themselves but yet desired by the majority of Churchmen, have never been presented to Parliament, or if presented have never been proceeded with, because it is realized that in existing circumstances any labour upon them would be expended in vain.

Modern conditions have created new problems for the Church, and a number of administrative changes necessary for the healthy development of her work are already overdue. Thus, there is admittedly great inequality in ecclesiastical endowments: some parishes are endowed beyond what is necessary; some are altogether insufficiently endowed. The excellent work accomplished by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners could be carried even further if time could be found for the passage of a Bill giving the necessary powers, and a great husbanding of resources would accrue to the Church.

The question of Prayer Book revision is now occupying the attention of Convocation. Few Churchmen, if any, desire to see drastic alterations in the Prayer Book, but the majority of them will be agreed that there is need of some revision. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline reported that there was hardly a church in the country where the Prayer Book was literally followed. It is therefore surely desirable that the Book of Common Prayer should be so altered as to bring it into harmony with the actual practice of the Church, and there is room for the insertion of such common services as those of Harvest Thanksgivings or Intercessions for Missions, etc. But it is quite impossible that these modifications should be carried through the House of Commons under existing conditions. Not only would the opportunity for obstruction prevent the necessary time being given, but the debates would be of a nature so repugnant to Churchmen that they would not be likely to attempt the task. Another subject on which reform is much needed is that of Ecclesiastical tribunals. Without entering upon the competence of the Privy Council to try ecclesiastical cases, it is admitted that the present position is satisfactory to no party within the Church and the *impasse* at which we have arrived is a humiliating testimony to the powerlessness of the Church's position. Yet to attempt to carry legislation through Parliament on this question would be to multiply existing difficulties tenfold rather than to remove them.

Again, if legislation were facilitated, a powerful impetus would be given to the creation of new Bishoprics, the vexed questions of patronage and tenure of benefices might be put on a footing more acceptable to most Churchpeople, the creation of parochial Church Councils might be undertaken, and also the provision of improved pension funds for the aged clergy, and the more general financing of Missions by the Church.

These and many other reforms which are not party questions within the Church, which scarcely arouse any interest outside the Church, might long ago have been carried, to the general advantage of everybody, if there was an assembly competent, respected, and willing enough to enact them. Above all, if Churchmen felt they were really

masters in their own house, that the affairs of the Church, were conducted in an efficient manner, and that what they gave in labour and offerings was most economically used instead of being frittered away, their support would be called out and their enthusiasm summoned in a fashion that is not possible now.

#### III

But there are those who will tell us that this shackling of the Church is a necessary condition to Establishment and that, if we want real liberty for the Church, we must agree to Disestablishment as the only remedy. If this is really believed by anybody a greater confusion of thought never existed. Apart from the fact that the Welsh Disestablishment Bill now before the country, with its spoliation, dismemberment, and arbitrary creation of a new Representative Body subject to the approval of Mr. McKenna, is no more 'freedom' for the Church than the Tower was for Archbishop Laud, the basis of English Establishment has always been that the Church's Spiritual independence should be respected; moreover, in principle, there is absolutely no inconsistency between the national recognition of God and the complete autonomy of the Church.

If anyone doubts the truth of this or the practical possibility of giving effect to it, he has only to look across the Border to Scotland to see an Established Church which has, for more than three centuries, enjoyed as much liberty from State control as any Anglican desires for his Church to-day. The conditions of the Scottish Establishment are so appropriate to our subject that they deserve careful attention.

The liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland were first recognized by the Scottish Parliament in the Act of 1592 entitled 'Ratification of the libertie of the Trew Kirk.' This Act did not profess to create any new jurisdiction for the Church but merely recognized the authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and its

subordinate Courts in all 'heads of religion, matters of heresie, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of Ministers, or ony sic-like essential censouries, speciall grounded and having warrand of the Word of God.' This Act was embodied in the Act of Settlement of 1690 and confirmed by an Act of 1693, which further ordained that 'The Lords of their Majesties Privy Council and all other Magistrates, Judges and Officers give all due assistance for making the sentences and censures of the Church and judicatures thereof to be obeyed or otherwise. effectual as accords.'

The effect of these statutes has been to place the Church of Scotland under the legal control, legislative as well as judicial, of its ecclesiastical Courts, the Kirk Sessions, the Presbyteries and the Provincial Synods, culminating in the General Assembly, and to enable these courts to enforce their decrees, if necessary, by the civil power. The jurisdiction of these Ecclesiastical Courts is, therefore, recognized as part of the Constitution of the State by the Civil Law Courts. who have invariably refused to trespass upon their sphere. The General Assembly which is annually elected from the Presbyteries is not only a Court of Appeal in all matters of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the subordinate Courts but is also the supreme legislative body of the Church of Scotland. There are only two checks to its omnipotence. By an Act of Assembly in 1697 known as 'The Barrier Act,' should the Assembly pass any Act repealing any previous Act of Assembly or one which would involve an essential alteration of the existing law or practice of the Church, the measure has to be submitted to a sort of referendum of the Presbyteries and, if it is approved by them, the General Assembly of the next succeeding year may enact it.

The Barrier Act, however, which could always be repealed by two General Assemblies and the Presbyteries, while it places a check on the power of the General Assembly, in no way diminishes the autonomy of the Church of Scotland; in fact it is a great safeguard to its preservation. The only things which the Church of Scotland has not at present legal power to do are to renounce Presbyterian government

or the Westminster Confession of Faith, as these were made binding upon the Church by the Act of Parliament of 1603: nor could it reintroduce private patronage, as this, having been sanctioned in the Act of Parliament of 1603. was abolished by another Act of Parliament in 1874. Short of this extremity, therefore, the Established Church of Scotland is, in fact, quite independent of Parliament, and it should in this connexion be noted that there is no Nonconformist or so-called 'Free' Church in this country, with the exception of the United Methodist Church, who would not have to come to Parliament if they wanted to alter a single sentence in their trust deeds. The United Methodist Church is in an exceptional position because having been 'created' (as Liberationists would say) by Act of Parliament in 1907 it was specifically given the legal power to alter its trust deeds and Constitution at will. The Established Church of Scotland is therefore as free as any Nonconformist Church in England, except the United Methodist, and English Churchmen may well ask why the same privileges cannot also be extended to the Established Church of England. They will certainly ask that question when the United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland come to Parliament a year or two hence (as we all earnestly hope they will be able to do) and demand the removal of every shred of State control over their National Church

#### IV

It is, however, sometimes said that, although self-government in an Established Church has worked well in Scotland, it by no means follows that it would be successful in England, and indeed that there are special difficulties in conferring self-government upon the Anglican Church which would make it impossible. Let us examine the alleged differences and difficulties and see whether any of them would be an impediment to giving the Church self-government.

In the first place it is said that no machinery exists in the English Church such as the Scottish General Assembly etc.

upon which powers of self-government could be conferred. This is a misapprehension. The Convocations of Canterbury and York have been in existence a great deal longer than the House of Commons; the modern lay element has been supplied through the wisdom of Archbishop Benson in instituting the Houses of Laymen, and they all sit together several times every year in the Representative Church Council. It is asserted, however, that the Representative Church Council is not in any sense really representative of the Church, in that the Lower Houses of the Convocations are not properly representative of the clergy and the Houses of Laymen are not really representative of the laity. It is sometimes said that, insomuch as the lay houses are elected by the different diocesan conferences and not directly elected, they are not representative of Churchmen, and, insomuch as the elections to the diocesan conferences are upon the 'confirmation' franchise, they are not representative of the nation as a whole. Both these criticisms would apply equally well to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The General Assembly is not directly elected: it is elected from the Presbyteries (which in the Church of Scotland bear the nearest analogies to Anglican Bishops and their diocesan conferences) and the Presbyteries are not elected, as our critics would seem to suppose, by the ratepayers, but consist of Professors of Divinity and the Minister and one Elder from every Kirk Session, who in their turn are not elected democratically at all but co-opted by the existing Elders themselves. The Lay Representation in the Representative Church Council is, therefore, at least as adequate as that of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

It is also said that the Lower Houses of Convocation are not properly representative of the clergy. This is true, but whose fault is it? Lord Chancellor Selborne gave it as his opinion that the constitution of Convocation could not legally be altered except by Act of Parliament. On several occasions the Representative Church Council and the various houses of Convocation have passed resolutions calling for legislation to reform the Lower Houses of

Convocation. As long ago as 1900 the late Sir Richard Jebb introduced a Bill for the reform of Convocation into the House of Commons where, of course, it was obstructed, and though, the following year, it passed the House of Lords under the sponsorship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it made no progress in the Commons and the obstructionists have prevented it getting any further since! Is that to be made a reason against allowing the Church to manage her own affairs? It is one of the first of the long overdue reforms that would be accomplished.

But whatever theory of representation the critics may hold, it is permissible to ask them what body of men they think they are likely to get by any system human ingenuity can devise more representative of the Church of England than those who now compose the Representative Church Council. If they scan the list of members of that august body they will see that practically every Churchman of any note is there. The taunt is sometimes raised that the members of the Houses of Laymen are 'ecclesiastically minded'; you might as well condemn the House of Commons because for the most part Members of Parliament are 'politically minded.' What sort of mind do our critics expect in an ecclesiastical assembly? Before the Representative Church Council can be condemned it is necessary to shew what more adequate body of men could be collected in its place, and that would be exceedingly difficult to do. In truth the only criticisms that can legitimately be brought against it are that its elections and debates do not attract much public attention and that its discussions are apt to be somewhat academic in tone. But what else can be expected so long as the Representative Church Council is merely a debating society without official status or legal powers to give reality to its work? It is impossible for any assembly which is only a debating society without real powers or official responsibility to evoke wide public interest in its doings.

It is perhaps necessary to add that it is not here suggested that the Representative Church Council should in any way supersede Convocation as the regular clerical assembly of the Church. The Representative Church Council makes no such claim. Clauses 10 and 11 of its Constitution expressly say:

'Nothing in this Constitution nor in any proceeding of the Council shall interfere with the exercise by the Episcopate of the powers and functions inherent in them, or with the several powers and functions of the Houses of Convocation of the two Provinces.

'If does not belong to the functions of the Council to issue any statement purporting to declare the doctrine of the Church on any question of theology; and no such statement shall be issued by the Council.'

All that the needs of the Church require is that a Council representative of lay opinion as well as clerical should be empowered to pass administrative legislation in order to make provision for new circumstances as they arise.

But we shall be told that Parliament will never consent to delegate its authority to an independent body such as the Representative Church Council. Although Parliament has delegated authority to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, there is really no necessity for English Churchmen to be so presumptuous as to demand equality of treatment with their Scottish brethren. What we have to complain of is not so much the power of Parliament as its impotence or indifference. The difficulty of getting ecclesiastical legislation passed is not that a majority of the House of Commons is opposed to new Bishoprics, the reform of Convocation, etc., but that they are not sufficiently interested to induce the Government to find time to give effect to the demands of the Church. A minority altogether insignificant in numbers and in influence dictates its will to Parliament in these matters by obstruction, pure and simple. To those who would deny self-government to the Church on the ground that the will of Parliament must not be set aside, it can be truly answered that the will of Parliament has been set aside by the obstructionists as much as has the will of the Church. To free the Church from the shackles of the present position it is only necessary to

carry out a reform of parliamentary procedure in ecclesiastical legislation. If any Bill that was passed by the Representative Church Council were allowed to lie upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament for a certain specified time before it received the Royal Assent, it would be open to either House to pass an address to His Majesty praying him to withhold his assent from it.

Although that would not give to the English Church the degree of autonomy in theory that the Established Church of Scotland possesses, it would give the Church a constitutional method of demanding necessary legislation which Parliament would rarely, if ever, reject. It would be a solution strictly in accordance with the theory of our National Establishment, the spiritual independence of the Church would be recognized, and the veto of Parliament retained. The Church would be free from the reproach of Erastianism since ecclesiastical legislation would emanate from her and nothing could be so proposed that had not the assent of her bishops, clergy, and laity, if necessary voting separately. On the other hand those who believe in control by the House of Commons would be spared the painful sight of its present abuse by a minority against the wishes of a majority of its members. It would always be open to either House to reject (though not to amend) any Ecclesiastical Bill submitted to it, and so there would be an opportunity for the real opinion of Parliament to be expressed; but it would no longer be open to a handful of Members to obstruct, for unless a division against the Bill was carried it would automatically become law. By such a simple measure of Parliamentary devolution could the Church be enabled to set her house in order and the arrears of ecclesiastical reform be wiped off. No doubt there are also other equally simple methods of effecting this.

One further objection must be considered. It is feared by some that the acuteness of party differences within the Church would be increased by any grant of self-government and that the schism of the minority might be the result. I do not think such fears are justified. Anyone who has followed the debates in the Representative Church Council

or in Convocation or in the Church in America or the Colonies will recognize that fortunately the principles of party warfare common in political assemblies do not prevail in Anglican ecclesiastical councils. The English instinct for compromise enhanced by the history of the Anglican Church impels speakers in our ecclesiastical councils to try to find the greatest common measure of approval, and anything in the nature of partizanship is always reprobated. the reforms which it is contemplated that the Representative Church Council should formulate are not of a nature upon which there is any real difference of opinion within the Church. The need for more Bishoprics and other similar administrative changes is universally recognized and it is to such tasks that the assembly of the Church would address itself. Furthermore, it is an error to suppose that differences of opinion within the Church can be suppressed under the existing system. At this moment several committees of both Convocations are considering a revision of the Prayer Book under Letters of Business issued in 1906. What more thorny or difficult question could ever arise?—and yet no one fears that the dissolution of the Church is impending.

What difficulties there are cannot be avoided by keeping the Church in a manacled and shackled state, to the impediment of her work and the injury of her vitality. The events of the last few years have been turning the attention of Churchmen of all schools to the need of Parliamentary devolution in Ecclesiastical affairs. Writers of great ability both from the High Church party and the Evangelical party have recently declared that the time has come for a united demand by Churchmen for this reform. The Church has been attacked for her alleged failings in bygone years: Churchmen must reply by securing that the development of the Church shall never be hindered again. It is to be hoped that they will not consent to be blackmailed into Disestablishment by Parliamentary obstruction; the rights of the Church must be asserted, and Churchmen must not rest until they are obtained.

Last July the Representative Church Council requested

the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to appoint a Committee to inquire how greater spiritual freedom could be secured for the Church consistently with the national recognition of religion. It is believed that their Graces have been pleased to accede to this request. If such a Committee is appointed and if it is able to outline a method by which the Church will be enabled to manage her own affairs, the laity must see that it is carried into effect. No legislation is more urgently needed, no greater opportunity has ever fallen to Churchmen to serve the interests of the Church.

WOLMER.

## ART. II.—SAINT TERESA.

- I. The Life of Saint Teresa of Jesus. Written by herself.
  Translated by DAVID LEWIS. Fourth edition, with
  notes and introduction by BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN,
  O.C.D. (London: T. Baker. 1911.)
- 2. The Way of Perfection. Translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. With notes and introduction by BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D. (London: T. Baker. 1911.)
- 3. The Interior Castle, or the Mansions. Translated and annotated by the same. Second edition. (London: T. Baker. 1912.)
- 4. Saint Teresa: the History of her Foundations. Translated by Agnes Mason, C.H.F. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1909.)
- 5. The Life of Saint Teresa. From the French of 'A Carmelite Nun,' by Lady Alice Lovat, with a Preface by Mgr. Robert Hugh Benson. (London: Herbert and Daniel.)

SAINT TERESA'S writings are now being made much more accessible to English readers than they ever were before. Excellent new translations of the *Interior Castle* and the *Way of Perfection* have been issued in the last two years by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, with introductions

and very valuable notes by Fr. Benedict Zimmerman. In 1911 a fourth edition of Lewis' translation of Saint Teresa's Life appeared, also supplied with notes and introduction by the same editor. In 1909 the Cambridge Press issued a translation, in admirable English, of the Foundations, by Sister Agnes Mason, C.H.F., thereby calling attention to a little-known but most interesting account by the Saint of the convents which she established. Then about two years ago (no date is given) Lady Lovat published a translation of 'A Carmelite Nun's' life of the Saint, with an introduction by Mgr. Benson. This is a useful supplement to the many lives already issued in English; it differs from them in giving a more sympathetic and inside account of the religious life of the Carmelites.

Perhaps, then, it may be useful to draw upon this copious material in the hope of encouraging a wider public to appreciate and profit by Saint Teresa's help and guidance

to the spiritual world.

St. Teresa was born in 1515, the same year as St. Philip Neri, and died in 1582. In 1536 she made her profession in the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation at Avila, and lived under the mitigated rule until the Convent of St. Joseph was formally established in 1562 as the first-fruits of the reform inaugurated by the Saint. From 1536 till 1540 her health was very bad; from 1540 till 1555 there were great vicissitudes in her spiritual life, a period of keen sensible devotion being followed by one in which there was a comparative neglect of prayer and great aridity; the complete and final surrender of herself to God took place in Lent 1555, when she was forty. 'It came to pass one day,' she says in describing this event.

'when I went into the oratory, that I saw a picture which they had put by there, and which had been procured for a certain feast observed in the house. It was a representation of Christ most grievously wounded; and so devotional, that the very sight of it, when I saw it, moved me—so well did it show forth that which He suffered for us. So keenly did I feel the evil return I had made for those wounds, that I thought my heart was

breaking. I threw myself on the ground beside it, my tears flowing plenteously, and implored Him to strengthen me once for all, so that I might never offend Him any more.' 1

Her autobiography, from which this quotation comes, was finished in 1565; it was immediately followed by the Way of Perfection, though this latter book was not published till after her death. In 1577 the Interior Castle was written; whilst the Foundations carries on the story of her life from the establishment of St. Joseph's Convent at Avila in 1562 till that of St. Joseph's at Burgos

in 1582, the year of her death.

One principal difficulty which we experience in reading St. Teresa is her utterly unmethodical style of writing. Something she has written suggests an idea to her, and she follows it for page after page until the original context is completely forgotten, and at last she pulls up with a gasp of astonishment, wondering where she has got to. For instance, an epitome of Mystical Theology is interpolated into the story of her Lite 2; and the account of her Foundations is always being interrupted by advice to Prioresses on the management of difficult temperaments. Thus a reader, whose interest is in the history of the time, suddenly finds himself comparing the phenomena of Trance with those of Rapture; and the student of devotional literature would fain be spared a description of the jealousies and cabals which dogged the steps of the 'reform.' But after all, life is made up of these various components; and with whatever object we go to St. Teresa's books we find her revealed there as a real living personality, alive to her finger-tips, whether she is praying, spinning, organizing, or cracking jokes at the expense of St. John of the Cross. Her lack of method, her forgetfulness, her repetitions, all have a very human interest, especially when we remember that the writing was done at odds and ends of time and under conditions of most frightful discomfort.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The place,' says Fr. Zimmerman, 'where she wrote this marvellous work is still shown to the visitor. The cell inhabited by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life, chap. ix. § 1. <sup>2</sup> Chaps. x.-xxii. and xxxyii.-xl.

23

her has been left exactly as she left it herself when last she bade farewell to the convent. With the exception of a bed it contains no furniture: no table to put her books on, no chair to sit on. When writing she knelt or sat on the floor, the paper lying on a small projection of the wall in the window recess. Glass windows would have been too great a luxury for St. Joseph's convent; instead of these the nuns used canvas fixed in a frame and fastened in the open window. Had it not been for the fire burning within her, her fingers must have been numbed during the long evenings in cold Avila when she was writing, at a prodigious speed, at a window practically open.' 1

Another characteristic of St. Teresa, and one which makes her of especial interest at the present day, is the unique degree in which she combines practice and theory. achievement and reflexion, spiritual fervour and psychological analysis, in her devotional life. She was endowed with a genius for prayer such as few even of the greatest Saints have possessed; and yet after being caught up to Paradise, and literally carried off her feet in an ecstasy of devotion, she can descend to dissect and discriminate these spiritual processes with the calm detachment of a professor of Psychology. In fact, in the sphere of what is known now-a-days as the Psychology of Religion, St. Teresa was not only a pioneer in her own age but has few equals and no superiors in the present time. It may be said, without disrespect, of those who profess that science to-day, that they appear to be, in almost every case, devoid of any first-hand or experimental knowledge of religion; and this, indeed, is in no way discreditable to them, since a first-hand experience of religion is given to comparatively few; still, it follows that they can have no adequate knowledge of that which they are proposing to discuss; they may have the psychology, but they have not got the religion; but Teresa of Jesus had both.

What, then, do we learn about prayer from a teacher who is thus admirably qualified to teach? Let us take as our text the following passage in chapter xi. of the Life:-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;A beginner must look upon himself as making a garden,

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Way of Perfection, p. xxv.

wherein our Lord may take His delight, but in a soil unfruitful, and abounding in weeds. His Majesty roots up the weeds, and has to plant good herbs. Let us, then, take for granted that this is already done when a soul is determined to give itself to prayer, and has begun the practice of it. We have, then, as good gardeners, by the help of God, to see that the plants grow, to water them carefully, that they may not die, but produce blossoms, which shall send forth much fragrance, refreshing to our Lord, so that He may come often for His pleasure into this garden, and delight Himself in the midst of these virtues. . . . It seems to me that the garden may be watered in four ways: by water taken out of a well, which is very laborious; or with water raised by means of an engine and buckets, drawn by a windlass— I have drawn it this way sometimes—it is a less troublesome way than the first, and gives more water; or by a stream or brook, whereby the garden is watered in a much better way for the soil is more thoroughly saturated, and there is no necessity to water it so often, and the labour of the gardener is much less; or by showers of rain, when our Lord Himself waters it, without labour on our part—and this way is incomparably better than all the others of which I have spoken.'

Before going further, we must just notice two assumptions which are made in this description. First, weeds have been already eradicated and virtues planted in the garden of the soul: that is, some real progress is considered to have been made before the first of these stages of prayer is reached; the purgative path has been trodden, to adopt another and well-known metaphor, and the traveller is on the upward path of proficiency. And, secondly, the glory of Christ is clearly expressed as the goal of the whole spiritual process; the desire to please Him, to make of oneself an offering to Him, and to make that offering gradually more genuine and acceptable—that is the persistent motive of the life of prayer, a motive which invests even the most ethereal forms of devotion with a fragrance of life and love, and renders them quite distinct from a philosophical cult of pure abstract Being.

What, then, are these various stages of prayer?

I. The first is compared to the toilsome work of drawing water from a well. It consists in meditation as ordinarily

25

understood, involving a somewhat laborious exercise of the understanding, which is employed in mastering the details, say, of some scene in Christ's life, and in elaborating reasons and incentives for loving Him. 'Working with the understanding is drawing water out of the well.' 1

'The soul may place itself in the presence of Christ, and accustom itself to many acts of love directed to His sacred Humanity, and remain in His presence continually, and speak to Him, pray to Him in its necessities, and complain to Him of its troubles; be merry with Him in its joys, and yet not forget Him because of its joys. All this it may do without set prayers. but rather with words befitting its desires and its needs.'2

But, as many people know by experience, this is laborious work, and 'the understanding is wearied thereby.' The weariness comes partly because this sort of prayer is mainly our own work; it is our aspiration after God rather than God's supernatural action on the soul; and our human powers flag and are distressed. And, again, those who are engaged in this prayer are subject to special temptations; the devil tries to make them desist by suggesting false notions of humility; 'he tells us that the actions of the Saints are to be admired, not to be imitated, by us who are sinners' 3; or 'that our way of life must kill us, and destroy our health; even if we weep, he makes us afraid of blindness' 4; or, again, he fills people with an indiscreet and precocious zeal for converting everybody else.

It follows that in this stage of prayer there must be a resolute determination to bear the cross and to put away desires for joy and consolation; if that is done, a secret and unnoticed advance is being made; at the very time that the understanding is being reduced to impotence and despair, 'the will is feeding and gathering strength, and they know it not.' 5

And the result will be that the meditation itself becomes a more restful process, in which the will is taking part along with the understanding. People will 'place themselves in the presence of Christ, and, without fatiguing the under-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life, Chap. xi. § 15. <sup>2</sup> Chap. xii. § 3. <sup>3</sup> Chap. xiii. § 5. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. § 9. <sup>5</sup> Chap. xi. § 22.

standing, converse with Him, and in Him rejoice, without wearying themselves in searching out reasons.' For example, in meditating on Christ bound to the pillar,

'it is well that we should make reflections for a time, and consider the sufferings He there endured, for whom He endured them, who He is who endured them, and the love with which He bore them. But a person should not always fatigue himself in making these reflections, but rather let him remain there with Christ, in the silence of the understanding.' 1

2. Next in order, if we follow the description in the Life, comes the Prayer of Quiet, corresponding to the process of raising water by a windlass. This second sort of prayer is the same that is described in the Fourth Mansion of the Interior Castle; the first three Mansions cover the Prayer of Meditation. But on turning to the Interior Castle we find that a Prayer of Recollection is interpolated as following the Prayer of Meditation and preparatory to that of Quiet. And further, as Fr. Zimmerman points out,<sup>2</sup> this Prayer of Recollection is itself composite, including a more active process (described in the Way of Perfection, chapters xxviii. and xxix.), and a more passive one (described in the Interior Castle, chapter iii. of the Fourth Mansion).

What then is meant by Recollection? It is the beginning of the process by which the soul unifies its powers and concentrates itself upon God.

'Although only vocal, yet this kind of prayer rivets the thoughts much more quickly than any other kind, and has many advantages. It is called "recollection," because by its means the soul collects together all the faculties, and enters within itself to be with God. The divine Master thus comes more speedily than He otherwise would to teach it and to grant it the prayer of quiet. For, being retired within itself, the spirit can meditate on the Passion and can there picture in its thoughts the Son, and can offer Him to the Father, without tiring the mind by journeying to find Him on Mount Calvary, or in the garden, or at the column.' 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. xiii. §§ 17 and 31. <sup>2</sup> Castle, p. 76. <sup>3</sup> Way of Perfection, chap. xxviii. § 4.

The soul is here beginning to understand that God dwells within her, and is to be sought there; all she has to do is to 'withdraw the senses from outward things,' so as to be able to attend upon Him without distraction. But here again, as in meditation, false humility is an obstacle which has to be overcome. 'Lay aside,' says St. Teresa,

'a certain reticence which some people maintain towards Him, under the impression that it is humility. Humility would not lead you to refuse a favour from the king, but would make you accept and take pleasure in it, although you recognised how little it was your due. What humility! I receive in my house the Lord of heaven and earth, Who comes to show me kindness and to talk to me, and, because of my humility, I neither answer nor remain with Him, nor accept His gifts, but go away and leave Him alone. . Practise no such humility, my daughters.'

The Saint recognizes fully that this act of withdrawal and concentration requires a strong initial effort; but though at first we voluntarily close our eyes to keep out earthly sights, later on it would require an effort to open them again. If we persevere, 'we shall find that, when we begin to pray, the bees will return to the hive and enter it to make the honey. . . The mind only requires to make them a sign that it wishes to be recollected and the senses will immediately obey it and retire within themselves.'2 These words imply that this prayer is mainly due to the soul's own effort; and so we are explicitly told that 'this is not a supernatural state, but something which, with the grace of God, we can desire and obtain for ourselves.'3 It is this characteristic, in fact, which marks off this prayer from that of Quiet. And this fact is reiterated in the Castle (chapter iii. of Fourth Mansion), where this prayer is considered on its more passive side. 'Recollection,' we are there told, 'does not require us to give up meditation, nor to cease using our intellect.' 4 In fact, it is both futile and presumptuous for us voluntarily to suspend our faculties and stop thinking; futile, because 'the very effort to think of nothing excites our imagination

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. § 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Chap. xxix. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. § 7.

<sup>4</sup> Castle, IV. iii. 7.

the more'; and presumptuous, because when God wishes our faculties to be suspended, He will do it Himself independently of any wish or action of our own. Self-induced inertia is an attempt to go up higher before God calls us to do so. This would be Saint Teresa's answer to the extremer forms of 'Quietism.'

At the same time, the more passive sort of Recollection (the word 'passive' is not applied to it by the Saint) described in the Castle is said to be 'supernatural' in distinction from the sort described in Perfection. Here 'there is no occasion to retire nor to shut the eyes, nor does it depend on anything exterior; involuntarily the eyes suddenly close and solitude is found.' And again, whilst there is the same home-coming of the senses as in active recollection, this home-coming is now ascribed to the action of God instead of to our own efforts at concentration.

'The King, who holds His Court within, sees their good will (i.e. the wish of the "senses and powers of the soul" to return to the castle), and out of His great mercy desires them to return to Him. Like a good shepherd, He plays so sweetly on His pipes, that, although scarcely hearing it, they recognise His call and no longer wander, but return like lost sheep to the mansions. So strong in this Pastor's power over His flock, that they abandon the worldly cares which misled them, and re-enter the castle.' <sup>2</sup>

These two similes of the Bees and the Shepherd, employed in connexion with the prayer, are amongst the most beautiful and apt illustrations to be found in the writings of St. Teresa. And it may be added that chapters xxviii. and xxix. of the Way of Perfection can be pressed on the attention of all who wish to make progress in meditation and who might (perhaps from false humility) feel deterred from the other writings of the Saint.

3. Next comes the Prayer of Quiet, which, as we have seen, was not distinguished from that of Recollection in Saint Teresa's Life, and which is in fact just a further development of the more passive sort of recollection. It

<sup>1</sup> Castle, IV. iii. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. § 2.

29

corresponds to the Fourth Mansion of the Interior Castle, and is there said to be productive of 'spiritual consolations,' as distinct from the 'sweetness in devotion' which characterizes meditation and recollection. That sweetness 'arises principally from the good work we perform, and appears to result from our labours: well may we feel happy at having thus spent our time.' In fact it is compared to the pleasure we feel on unexpectedly coming into a fortune or meeting a friend; it is a 'natural' feeling and begins in ourselves, though it may end in God, i.e. by bringing us nearer to Him; whilst the spiritual consolations, experienced in the Prayer of Quiet, are supernatural—they arise from God and end in ourselves, in the sense that they spread throughout all the 'mansions and faculties' and overflow into the body.1

But, though this prayer is supernatural, it does not over-master or absorb the soul; 'the faculties are not lost, neither are they asleep; the will alone is occupied in such a way that, without knowing how it has become a captive, it gives a simple consent to become the prisoner of God.'2 The understanding and memory are not prisoners: they are free, and not only free but flighty in their action, sometimes helping and sometimes hindering the will which has become 'the captive of Him it loves.' And because the will is then fixed in steady communion with God, this prayer is marked by great joy and repose and peace of soul; it is 'a little spark of the true love of Himself, which our Lord begins to enkindle in the soul; and His will is, that the soul should understand what this love is by the joy it brings.' All that the soul has to do is to be quiet and receptive, to be 'gentle and without noise. By noise, I mean going about with the understanding in search of words and reflections. . . . Let the will quietly and wisely understand that it is not by dint of labour on our part that we can converse to any good purpose with God, and that our own efforts are only great logs of wood, laid on without discretion to quench this little spark.' 3 A hard saying, indeed, for the British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Life, chap. xiv. § 3. 1 Castle, IV. i. § 4, and ii. § 5. 3 Ibid. chap. xv. §§ 6 and 9.

and Protestant temperament, which must be for ever fussing about and making as much 'noise' as possible!

4. We now reach the state of prayer illustrated in the 'third water'—water running into the garden from a stream, 'whereby the garden is watered with much less trouble, although there is some in directing the water'—a state described in the Fifth Mansion of the *Interior Castle*. The characteristics of this prayer are, first, that it is the union of all the powers of the soul (not of the will only) with God; and, secondly, that it is a union of which the soul is conscious, the faculties being aware of what is taking place in them.

'It is a sleep of the powers of the soul, which are not wholly lost, nor yet understanding how they are at work.' 'The faculties are almost all completely in union, yet not so absorbed that they do not act.' 'This state of prayer seems to me to be a most distinct union of the whole soul with God, but for this, that His Majesty appears to give the faculties leave to be intent upon, and have the fruition of, the great work He is doing then.' <sup>1</sup>

Still, there is a difference in the way in which the various powers or faculties are thus concentrated upon God: the will 'is a captive and in joy,' whilst 'the understanding and the memory are so free that they can be employed in affairs and be occupied in works of charity'<sup>2</sup>; so that the soul combines the characteristics of Martha and Mary in this prayer. (Sometimes, again, the understanding is closely united with the will in the fruition of God, whilst the memory and imagination are not only free but distracted themselves and distracting to the soul. <sup>3</sup>)

The more ethical side of this union with God is brought out in the corresponding passage in the *Castle*. Such union implies mortification; the soul thus concentrated upon God is dead to the world; and the 'glorious folly,' the 'heavenly madness' which are enjoyed are manifestations of a new, risen life, hid with Christ in God. And here

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Life*, xvi. §§ 1 and 3; xvii. § 5.
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*. xvii. § 5.
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*. §§ 7–10.

we meet with another of Saint Teresa's similes, that of the silkworm, which

'when it is full grown, begins to spin silk and to build the house wherein it must die. By this house, when speaking of the soul, I mean Christ.' 'As soon as, by means of this prayer, the soul has become entirely dead to the world, it comes forth like a lovely little white butterfly. . . . Truly, the spirit does not recognise itself, being as different from what it was as is the white butterfly from the repulsive caterpillar. . . The soul desires to praise our Lord God, and longs to sacrifice itself and die a thousand deaths for Him.' 1

This prayer, then, may be described as the conscious, willing, enthusiastic self-surrender of the mortified soul to God's action upon it.

5. The 'fourth water' is the rain descending from heaven, and watering the garden without any labour or effort of ours. It corresponds to the 'Sixth Mansion' described in the Interior Castle. Here we have a complete absorption of the soul in God; a union so close that ' there is no sense of anything, only fruition, without understanding what that is, the fruition of which is granted.' 2 'I believe that the faculties of the soul are closely united to God, but that He leaves them at liberty to rejoice in their happiness, together with the senses, although they do not know what they are enjoying, nor how they do so.' 3 At the time when the union is taking place, the soul cannot describe it; 'if it can, then it is not union at all.' And this union is to be understood in the plain sense of the word: 'it is plain enough what union is—two distinct things becoming one.' 4

The person thus absorbed in God is absolutely unconscious of the outside world, and has lost the use of his senses and the power of attention.

'The soul is conscious, with a joy excessive and sweet, that it is, as it were, utterly fainting away in a kind of trance: breathing, and all the bodily strength, fail it; . . . the eyes

close involuntarily, and if they are open, they are as if they saw nothing. . . . The ear hears; but what is heard is not comprehended.' 'If the soul is making a meditation on any subject, the memory of it is lost at once, just as if it had never been thought of. If it reads, what is read is not remembered nor dwelt upon; neither is it otherwise with vocal prayer.' 1

Although the soul is unconscious during the prayer, on returning to itself it can recall the general sense of what was then experienced, and retains a deep and permanent impression of it. (This marks off such a prayer from the state induced by hypnotism.) The Saint illustrates this by a visit which she once paid to the Duchess of Alva; she was taken to a room full of objects of value and interest, and after wondering (rather unkindly) 'what could be the use of such a jumble of knick-knacks,' found she was quite unable to remember what she had seen, although she 'recalled the sight of the whole collection.' <sup>2</sup>

In the *Castle*, where this prayer is treated at great length, we are told of two great trials or afflictions by which it is accompanied. The first is bodily suffering.

'Our Lord now usually sends severe bodily infirmity. . . . I speak of exterior trials; but corporal pains, if of the worst kind, enter the interior of our being also, affecting both spirit and body, so that the soul in its anguish knows not what to do with itself, and would far rather meet death at once by some quick martyrdom than suffer thus.' 3

Such physical suffering seems an almost invariable accompaniment of higher mystical states. It would appear that a high-strung sensitive temperament is a necessary condition of the experience of such states, and that this experience itself renders the temperament more sensitive and more liable to suffering than it was before. And the second is spiritual suffering. Although the soul is in a state of grace, yet

'so hidden is this grace, that the sufferer believes that neither now nor in the past has she ever possessed the faintest spark of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life, xviii. §§ 14 and 19. <sup>2</sup> Castle, vi. iv. 9. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. vi. i. 13.

love for God. If at any time she has done good, or if His Majesty bestowed any favours on her, they seem to have been but a dream or a fancy, while her sins stand clearly before her. . . . Prayer makes no difference as far as comforting the heart, which no consolation can enter, nor can the mind even grasp the meaning of the words of vocal prayer: mental prayer is out of the question at such a time, since the faculties are unequal to it. Solitude harms the soul, yet society or conversation is a fresh torment. . . . Its pains are indescribable, it is wrung with nameless anguish and spiritual suffering.' 1

This passage might well stand as a classical description of what is sometimes called the great desolation experienced by souls which have made very great progress in the spiritual life but which have not yet entered upon the highest state of communion with God. It is an experience which it is easy to dismiss airily as due to a natural reaction from an over-great strain of attention to prayer, as a temporary break-down from 'brain-fag' or nervous exhaustion; but this is just one of those specious explanations which explain nothing; it just repeats the spiritual phenomenon in terms of physiology, and such a difference of language does not take us any further towards the discovery of a cause. No doubt, spiritual desolation implies and is accompanied by nervous exhaustion: they are the two aspects of one psychophysical process; but to what is this process due? No doubt, strenuous attention is followed by reaction; but what makes this reaction so peculiarly painful and of such long duration? The cause, as distinct from the physiological counterpart, is to be found in the peculiar characteristics of this sort of prayer. In Saint Teresa's case this state of union led on to further experiences which are described as trance, transport, or flight of the spirit, experiences in which the contact of the soul with God becomes closer and less uniform than in ordinary union; and, further, these trances were often followed by visions and voices in which the nature or the will of God was revealed to her. In other words, this state of prayer is marked by spasmodic revelations of the most exalted kind: the worshipper is caught up to the highest heights of communion with God; and it is only natural that on his return to earth he should be consumed with a love-sick longing for that country and with a despairing sense of his distance from it and his unworthiness of it; and this would seem to be the true secret of the 'desolation.'

But (6) there is a final and still higher state, a state of calm after storm, of attainment after struggle. The *Life* gives no explicit account of this condition, perhaps because St. Teresa had not experienced it at the time when she wrote her life; but it is the experience of the Seventh Mansion of the *Castle*, written ten years later. This state is described as spiritual marriage. There is nothing to object to in the title: it merely expresses the attainment of a permanent and assured union with God. Here 'the soul always remains in its centre with God.' 'The soul never moves from this centre, nor loses the peace He can give who gave it to the Apostles.' The advance from the last-mentioned state of storm and stress is well indicated in the following words:

'The most surprising thing to me is that the sorrow and distress which such souls felt because they could not die and enjoy our Lord's presence is now exchanged for as fervent a desire of serving Him, of causing Him to be praised, and of helping others to the utmost of their power. Not only have they ceased to long for death, but they wish for a long life and most heavy crosses, if such would bring ever so little honour to our Lord. . . . True, people in this state forget this at times, and are seized with tender longings to enjoy God and to leave this land of exile, especially as they see how little they serve Him, Then, however, they return to themselves, reflecting how they possess Him continually in their souls, and so are satisfied, offering to His Majesty their willingness to live as the most costly oblation they can make.' 2

That is, the present experience of eternal life in God takes the place of aspirations after a future life of communion with Him.

In Saint Teresa's case, a beautiful description is given

Castle, VII. ii. §§ 5 and 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. § 5.

of this highest state of prayer by 'A Carmelite Nun' on page 375 of her biography of the Saint.

'A transformation has taken place in her. We shall no longer see her swoon away in ecstasy at our Saviour's voice, or when He discovers Himself to her sight. She now rests in a silence and calm which can only be described as being full of strength. A perfect harmony has been established within her between the gifts of grace and her natural faculties. It is the noon-day of her sanctity, a period which was to last for a term of ten years, in which she will have to endure trials crucifying to the heart, but which will leave her soul in peace.'

Such, then, are the six states of prayer described by Saint Teresa, and illustrated in her own experience: r. Meditation, 2. Recollection, 3. Quiet, or union of the will, 4. Partial and Temporary Union of the whole nature, 5. Complete Temporary Union, 6. Complete and Permanent Union. They have been outlined above, as far as possible in the Saint's own words. But there are one or two points connected with them on which something should be said.

A most pressing question, which at once arises, is this: Are these states of prayer open and accessible to any earnest Christian who is anxious to advance in the spiritual life? Or are the majority of them barred to him, on the ground that they are 'supernatural' gifts reserved for certain specially chosen recipients? In the former case it will be his duty to aspire to them; in the latter it will be presumptuous for him to do so. Which of these views does Saint Teresa hold? At first sight it would seem that she is definitely committed to the latter. Thus in talking of the Prayer of Meditation she says 'thus far we can advance of ourselves—that is, by the grace of God; for without that, as everyone knows, we can never have one good thought'; and adds 'it is best for a soul which God has not raised to a higher state than this not to try to rise of itself.'

So, too, the sort of Recollection described in the Way of Perfection is said to be 'not a supernatural state, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life, chap. xi. § 13.

something which, with the grace of God, we can desire and obtain for ourselves.' Here there certainly seems to be a clear distinction between certain spiritual states which, with God's help, we can attain to of ourselves, and certain others which are a kind of supernatural 'theophany' and to which it would be presumptuous to aspire. But there is another side to her teaching. In speaking of the fourth state of prayer (that of the Fifth Mansion) she says:

'In spite of all I have written, there still seems some difficulty in understanding this mansion. The advantage of entering is so great, that it is well that none should despair of doing so because God does not give them the supernatural gifts described above. With the help of Divine grace true union can always be attained, by forcing ourselves to renounce our own will and by following the will of God in all things.' In the former manner (i.e. by the "short cut" of supernatural visitation) this death (to the world) is facilitated by finding ourselves introduced into a new life; here, on the contrary, we must give ourselves the death-blow. I own that the work will be much harder, but then it will be of higher value, so that your reward will be greater if you come forth victorious; yet there is no doubt it is possible for you to attain this true union with the will of God.' 3

Again, in dealing with the fifth state of prayer, she says: 'I cannot but feel keenly grieved at seeing what we lose by our own fault. It is true that His Majesty grants such favours to whom He chooses; yet if we sought Him as He seeks us, He would give them to us all. He only longs for souls on whom He may bestow them.' But there need not be held to be any real contradiction between the two views. She seems to mean, first, that union with God is 'supernatural' as being experience of His presence, as distinct from such theorizings about Him as are conducted in meditation; and, secondly, that this experience is open to all who honestly seek Him with clean hearts and mortified wills. This would be in accordance with the central doctrine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perfection, chap. xxix. § 3. <sup>2</sup> Castle, V. iii. § 3. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. § 5. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. VI. iv. § 16.

of the Castle, namely, that God Himself dwells, and is to be found, in the innermost recesses of the human soul.

I have dealt elsewhere with the visions and locutions which are associated with the fifth state of prayer, and will only suggest here that, however unusual such experiences may be, there is nothing incredible about them. If God wishes to convey clearly certain revelations of His nature or indications of His will, it is only natural that such messages should be moulded and adapted to those sense-organs of sight and hearing which transmit other real messages from an outside world. Perhaps, in matter of fact, the curious thing is that such experiences should be as uncommon as they are; perhaps they would be more common if we attained to a higher degree of attention and receptivity.

Lastly, let me say that the strong common sense of Saint Teresa is a constant refreshment to her readers and a very real ground of confidence in her teaching. This characteristic has, I hope, been illustrated in the quotations here given from her works; but one or two may just be added in conclusion.

'It is amusing,' she says, 'to see souls who, while they are at prayer, fancy they are willing to be despised and publicly insulted for the love of God, yet afterwards do all they can to hide their small defects; if anyone unjustly accuses them of a fault, God deliver us from their outcries.'

Again, 'When I see people . . . covering their faces and afraid to move or think, lest they should lose any slight tenderness and devotion they feel, I know how little they understand how to attain union with God, since they think it consists in such things as these. No, sisters, no; our Lord expects works from us."1 'From silly devotions, God deliver us!'2

And, lastly, if people think that a contemplative life must make people selfish and unpractical, let them hear the words of one of the greatest of contemplative Saints:

'Oh the charity of those who sincerely love our Lord and know their own state! How little rest can they take if they see that

<sup>1</sup> Castle, V. iii. §§ 10 and 11. 2 Life, xiii. § 24.

they can ever so little help a single soul to advance and love God more, or can in any way comfort it or liberate it from any danger! How little rest could such an one take in any selfish repose! And when he cannot help by deeds, he will by prayers, pleading with the Lord for the many souls which he grieves to see being lost. Such a soul loses its own enjoyment and counts it well lost, because it does not think about its own happiness, but about how best to do the Lord's will.' And, 'Well, then, my daughters, let there be no repining, but when obedience keeps you employed in exterior works, remember that, even if it is in the kitchen, the Lord walks among the pitchers, aiding us both in body and soul.' 1

A. BLOEMFONTEIN.

## ART. III.—THE GRACE OF ORDERS AND APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

- I. The Organization of the Church. By C. H. TURNER, M.A., F.B.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Constituting Chapter VI. of Volume I. of The Cambridge Medieval History. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1911.)
- 2. Studies in Early Church History. By C. H. TURNER, M.A., F.B.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1912.)
- 3. The People of God, an Inquiry into Christian Origins. By H. F. Hamilton, D.D. Volume II. The Church. (Oxford: at the University Press. 1912.)
- 4. Apostolic Succession and Episcopacy. By A. C. Headlam, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, King's College, London. Being two Articles in the Prayer-Book Dictionary. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons. 1912.)
- [The following article is intended to be one of a series the object of which is to discuss from different points of view what theory of Orders, if any, can claim to be Catholic, and what are the meaning and implication

Foundations, pp. 32 and 33.

of such terms as Apostolical succession and the Grace of Orders. The Editor desires to express his thanks to Fr. Puller for his very careful and full treatment of the subject.—Editor, *C.Q.R.*]

THERE is no need to introduce to the readers of the Church QUARTERLY REVIEW either Mr. Turner, of Magdalen and the British Academy, or Dr. Headlam, the Editor of this Review. On the other hand, until a few months ago, the name of Dr. Hamilton was not very generally known in England. In Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1912 no publication of any kind is credited to him. But it is not too much to say that by his most remarkable book, The People of God, he has leaped at one bound into the front rank of the theologians of the Anglican Communion. In the April number of the Church Quarterly Professor Nairne reviewed the first volume of his book, which deals with the Israel of the Old Covenant. It is to be hoped that no long time will elapse before a full review of the second volume, which deals with the Church of Christ, the New Israel, will be similarly given to us.

In this article, which I have undertaken to write, I do not propose to review any of the books and articles, the titles of which are given in the heading, though I expect to refer to all of them, and shall sometimes express agreement and sometimes, it may be, disagreement with particular statements in them. But my subject is the Grace of Orders and the Apostolic Succession, and to that subject, or to matters closely connected with it, I intend to adhere.

I address myself to those who believe in historical Christianity, who accept the books of the New Testament as canonical and inspired, and who in the interpretation of those books, while welcoming all the manifold helps which modern scholarship has so abundantly supplied, attribute also great weight to the continuous tradition of the Church coming down to us from the earliest times, and to the general consent of the Fathers, where such consent can be shewn to exist.

Ι

Not so long ago it would have been necessary, at any rate in English-speaking countries, to commence an investigation of a subject such as this by proving that the Church which our Lord founded, or at least that part of it which at any given time exists here on earth, was intended by its Founder to exist as a visible society. I hardly think that it is necessary to do so now. No doubt there are persons, who by a perversion of terms would claim for themselves the title of Christian theologians, and who nevertheless deny that there ever was such a person here on earth as our Lord Jesus, or who assert that, if there was such a person, He merely promulgated a teaching and did not found a society, whether visible or invisible. Such persons usually get rid of any passage of Holy Scripture which clashes with their fancies, by ruling it out as unauthentic on their own ipse dixit. No doubt it is right that Christian believers should labour for their conversion, but it would be folly to do so in an article on the Apostolic Succession. Theologians who accept the authority of the New Testament are, speaking generally, agreed that our Lord did found a visible Church. I will quote two passages in illustration of this statement, one from a distinguished Scottish Presbyterian, Dr. T. M. Lindsay, the other from the late Bishop Lightfoot of Durham.

Dr. Lindsay says:

'The New Testament Church is fellowship with Jesus and with the brethren through Him; this fellowship is permeated with a sense of unity; this united fellowship is to manifest itself in a visible society; this visible society has bestowed upon it by our Lord a divine authority; and it is to be a sacerdotal society. These appear to be the five outstanding elements in the New Testament conception of the Church of Christ.'

Bishop Lightfoot says:

'The Church is something more than a fortuitous concourse

<sup>1</sup> The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries, 4th edit., pp. 5, 6.

of spiritual atoms, a voluntary aggregation of individual souls for religious purposes. There is nothing accidental, nothing arbitrary in the Church. The Church is an external society, an external brotherhood, an external kingdom, constituted by a divine order. It has its laws, it has its officers, it has its times and seasons. It is not therefore a matter of indifference how loosely or how firmly we hold by the Church. We cannot regard ourselves as mere individual units, concerned only with the salvation of our own souls. We are members of a brotherhood; we are citizens of a kingdom. . . Loyalty to this idea is essential to the equipment of a true Christian.' 1

Now this Scriptural doctrine of the Church as being a visible, divinely constituted society, upon which our Lord bestowed a divine authority, is very closely connected with the main subject of this article. Dr. Edwin Hatch, the main purpose of whose 'Bampton Lectures' was to refute and overthrow the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, fully realized this close connexion. He denied that our Lord founded a visible society: he regarded the Church, spoken of in the New Testament, as a voluntary aggregation of individual souls for religious purposes; and he perceived clearly that, unless he established those two positions, the one negative and the other positive, he would fail in establishing his main thesis. In the preface to the second edition of his 'Bampton Lectures' on the Organization of the Early Christian Churches, he says:

'If the Church of which St. Paul speaks as the Body of Christ, the fulness of Him which filleth all in all, be really, as the Augustinian theory assumes it to be, a visible society, or aggregation of societies, then it is a tenable proposition that the Christian ministry is an essential, primary and authoritative element of the organism of the Christian life, as it came from the Divine Founder.' <sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ordination Addresses, pp. 35, 36. The particular sermon quoted in the text was preached by the Bishop in 1880, 1884, and 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, 2nd edit., 1882, preface, p. xii, quoted by Dr. Liddon in the preface to the second edition of his sermon entitled 'A Father in Christ,' p. viii.

As I have already intimated, I do not think that it is at all necessary at the present time to labour the point of the visibility of the Church founded by our Lord; nowadays that point is conceded by all those whom in this article I am addressing. What I have to make clear is that the Christian ministry was created by our Lord, when He gave His commission to the Apostles, and that, in a sense to be explained later, it has been transmitted from them to the long line of their successors. In those successors the ordinary powers belonging to the Apostolic office have been perpetuated.

## П

It was after our Lord's resurrection that He created the permanent Christian ministry by the several commissions which He gave to the Apostolic college. Taking the accounts given by the several Evangelists in the order in which they occur in our Bibles, we notice that St. Matthew emphasizes the fact that it was 'the eleven disciples' who 'went into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them.' 1 There may very possibly have been others there; for, while the eleven worshipped our Lord, there were 'some' who 'doubted'2; but whether there were others there or not, it was the eleven who had received from our Lord an injunction to come to that spot at that time; and it was assuredly to the eleven that our Lord uttered the amazing words: 'All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations,' etc. 3 As Dr. Swete very truly says: 'The Eleven are to be sent on an œcumenical mission, and they must know that they have behind them an authority which is œcumenical.' 4

In the second Gospel the commission given to the Apostles after the Resurrection is recorded in the canonical though non-Marcan appendix. The inspired writer says: 'Afterward He was manifested unto the eleven themselves

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xxviii. 16. <sup>2</sup> St. Matt. xxviii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> St. Matt. xxviii. 18-20. 4 Swete, Appearances, pp. 71, 72.

as they sat at meat. . . . And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation,' etc. <sup>1</sup>

St. Luke, writing about the events that happened on the evening of the day of the Resurrection, tells us that the two disciples who had been to Emmaus on their return to Jerusalem 'found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them.' 2 It is clear therefore that at this gathering there were present not only the Apostles but also others, including, after their return from Emmaus, Cleopas and his companion. After a certain time had passed, our Lord Himself stood in the midst of the assembly, and proved to those present that He was not a disembodied spirit, but that He was clothed with the very Body which had been nailed to the cross. Whether the whole of the discourse which followed was specially addressed to the Apostles is not clear to me; but a comparison with Acts i. 2-5 and 22 seems to shew that the last two verses of the discourse— 'Ye are witnesses of these things. And behold I send forth the Promise of My Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high' 3\_\_\_ were certainly addressed to them. Acts i. 22 shews that, while many saw our Lord after the Resurrection, the Apostles were witnesses of the Resurrection in a way that others were not. St. Matthias had to be given a place in that 'ministry and apostleship' 4 in order that he might 'become a witness' 5 with the eleven of the Resurrection of the Lord. Thus our Lord's words, 'Ye are witnesses of these things,' 6 empowered the eleven to act as apostolic witnesses of the great fundamental fact of the Resurrection of Christ. If these considerations have any force, they will tend to shew

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> St. Luke xxiv. 48, 49. <sup>4</sup> Acts i. 25. <sup>5</sup> Acts i. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> St. Luke xxiv. 48. Compare Bishop John Wordsworth's treatise, *The Ministry of Grace*, p. 111, note, in which he enumerates in order of time the commissions given to the Apostles during the forty days. He mentions St. John xx. 21–23; St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 20; St. Mark xvi. 15, 16; St. Luke xxiv. 44–48 and 49; and Acts i. 7, 8.

that, when our Lord was giving commissions to His chosen Apostles, others might be present, who did not share in the authority bestowed by the commission; just as in later days large numbers of persons are accustomed to be present, when certain others, relatively few in number, are by ordination being promoted to the episcopate or presbyterate or diaconate. This conclusion prepares the way for the proper understanding of the commission recorded in the Fourth Gospel.

Before entering on the discussion of the very important passage in which St. John records the bestowal of the commission, to which reference has been made, it will be well to call attention to a peculiarity in St. John's phrase-ology. Whereas the title 'Apostle' is used several times in the Synoptic Gospels and many times in the book of the Acts, it is never used by St. John either in his Gospel or in his Epistles. Again the title 'the eleven' is used in all the Synoptic Gospels to describe the Apostles after the death of Judas, but it is never used by St. John. St. John uses the title 'the twelve' three times in his Gospel. The same title is used seventeen times in the Synoptic Gospels. But the term commonly used by St. John to denote the members of the Apostolic college is 'the disciples.'

I proceed to quote the passage in which St. John records the great commission. He says:

(19) 'When therefore it was evening, on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. (20) And when He had said this, He shewed them His hands and His side. The disciples therefore were glad when they saw the Lord. (21) Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. (22) And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost  $(\lambda \acute{a} \beta \epsilon \tau \epsilon \ \pi \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \mu a \ \ddot{a} \gamma \iota o \nu$  without the article): (23) Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

The whole of this episode took place on the evening of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. John xx. 19-23.

day of our Lord's Resurrection. It follows that the appearance of our Lord described here is the same appearance as that described by St. Luke (xxiv. 33–49); and we have learnt from St. Luke that there were others present within the closed doors besides the Apostles. The question to be first considered is whether our Lord bestowed His commission on the whole assembly or on the Apostles only. If the commission was bestowed on the whole assembly, it must have been bestowed on them as representing the whole Church. It is incredible that such tremendous powers should have been given as a personal endowment to Cleopas and the other non-apostolic disciples, who happened to be assembled with the Apostles. If that had been done, these non-apostolic disciples would have been put on a par with the carefully selected and trained Apostles. But there is not a shadow of a sign of any such extension of the apostolate either in the Acts of the Apostles or elsewhere in the New Testament.

If the commission was given to the whole assembly as representing the whole Church, it would be something entirely without parallel in the New Testament. All the other commissions given by our Lord after His Resurrection were, as we have seen, given to the Apostles. No doubt there is a very true sense in which powers given to the Apostles are also given to the Church. The Apostles are not outside the Church; they are in the Church. What the Apostles do officially, the Church does. The Apostles are the divinely appointed and divinely empowered organs of the Church. As the human body sees through its specialized organ of seeing, the eye, and hears through its specialized organ of hearing, the ear, and thinks through its specialized organ of thinking, the brain, so the Apostles receiving their authority, not from the Church but from our Lord, who is Himself the chief member of the Church, that is to say its Monarch and Head, exercise under Christ the delegated royalty and priesthood which He has conferred upon them, and so act as organs through which in a supereminent degree the corporate royalty and priestliness of the Church express themselves here upon earth.

But we must consider the wording of the commission carefully, and very specially the wording of the first clause, which in a sense governs the whole. Our Lord said: 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.' As one reads the words, one remembers at once that our Lord had used very similar words three days before the evening of that first Easter Day. In the course of the great prayer which our Lord had addressed to His Father in the same night that He was betrayed He had said: 'As Thou didst send Me into the world, even so sent I them into the world.' 1 These words occur in that section of the prayer in which our Lord is interceding for His immediate disciples, in other words for the Eleven. As Bishop Westcott points out in the analysis of the prayer which precedes his detailed commentary on the chapter, the prayer 'falls into three main sections: I. The Son and the Father (vv. 1-5); II. The Son and His immediate disciples (6-19); III. The Son and the Church (20-26)'2; and in the preliminary observation which precedes his commentary on the third section of the prayer (vv. 20-26) he says: 'The prayer of the Lord is now extended from the Eleven to the Church, and through them to the world.' 3 The eighteenth verse belongs then to the section which deals with the Eleven and not to the section which deals with the Church. The admirable Presbyterian commentator, Monsieur F. Godet, takes the same view 4; and in fact no other view is possible. Moreover, in this eighteenth verse our Lord is looking forward to the future conflict which the Apostles when they went forth into the world were to have with the Evil one in whom 'the whole world lieth.' 5 In verse 15 He had said: 'I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them out of the Evil one.' Notwithstanding the dangers which would assuredly beset

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. John xvii. 18,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Op. cit. ii. 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Godet, Commentaire sur l'Évangile de saint Jean, tome ii. p. 538.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 St. John v. 19.

the Apostles from the assaults and atmosphere of the Evil one, our Lord had already, in His divinely ordered plan, determined to send those Eleven into the world, as the Father had sent Him into the world. Dean Alford is surely right, when, commenting on this eighteenth verse, he says: 'Verse 18 is proleptic 1—and received its fulfilment in chapter xx. 21.' St. Chrysostom explains the passage in the same way. Commenting on this verse, he says: 'It was His custom to speak of the future as having come to pass.' 2

That this great commission, recorded by St. John in the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, was given directly to the Apostles, and only to the Church because the Apostles form part of the Church and are the divinely empowered organs of the Church, has been the general belief of Christians in all ages. It is only in relatively recent times that, so far as I am aware, any other view has been taken; and the ancient teaching, not to say the obvious meaning of the passage in the Fourth Gospel when compared with the parallel passages, holds its ground at the present time among theologians and exegetes belonging to sections of Christendom which differ from each other on many important points. This matter is so important that it will be well to illustrate what I have said by specimen passages and references.

Speaking of our Lord, St. Cyprian (A.D. 251) says: 'To all His Apostles after His Resurrection He gives equal

¹ Some suppose that our Lord used a past tense,  $\partial \pi \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \epsilon i \lambda a$ , because of His first mission of the Apostles to the villages of Galilee; but if so, it could only be because in His divine plan that preliminary limited mission in some sense included the oecumenical work which the Apostles were to carry out after Pentecost. It is for their future life and work that He is praying; and if the removal of the earlier limitations (St. Matt. x. 5, 6) was to be made clear, it needed that a fresh commission should be given, as it was given three days later. On the whole, the explanation given by St. Chrysostom and Dean Alford seems the simplest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Chrysost. in Joann. Homil. lxxxii., P.G. lix. col. 443: ἔθος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὡς γεγονὸς λέγειν.

power, saying to them: "As the Father sent Me, I also send you. Receive the Holy Ghost," etc.' 1

Similarly St. Firmilian, living in distant Cappadocia, writes (A.D. 256): 'Christ breathed on the Apostles

only, saying: "Receive the Holy Ghost," etc.' 2

St. Cyprian and St. Firmilian took the same side in the baptismal controversy of the Third century, and to the same party belonged Clarus of Mascula, to whom reference is made in note I; but it is interesting to observe that the ablest opponent of that party, the author of the treatise De Rebaptismate, agreed with his adversaries on the point which we are considering. In the fourth chapter of his treatise he says:—'Our Lord, after His resurrection, when He had breathed on His Apostles and had said to them "Receive the Holy Ghost," not till then bestowed the Holy Ghost upon them.' <sup>8</sup>

A quarter of a century earlier, Origen in his treatise On Prayer had said: 'But the words in the Gospel according to John concerning the power of remission granted to the Apostles run thus: Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, etc.' 4

About the year 370 that very remarkable theologian, commonly called Ambrosiaster, who seems to have been

<sup>2</sup> Ep. inter Cyprianicas, lxxv. cap. xvi., Opp. St. Cyprian. ii. 821: 'In solos apostolos insufflavit Christus dicens: "accipite spiritum sanctum," etc.'

<sup>3</sup> St. Cyprian. *Opp.* iii. 73: 'Dominus quoque noster post resurrectionem, cum insufflasset et dixisset apostolis suis 'accipite spiritum sanctum,' ita demum largitus eis spiritum sanctum.'

4 Origen. Libell. de Orat. cap. xxviii., P.G. xi. 528: "Εχουσι δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ αἱ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γινομένης ἀφέσεως φωναὶ οὕτως. Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἄγιον. ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς. κ.τ.λ.

¹ St. Cypr. de Cath. Eccl. Unit., cap. iv., Opp. edit. Hartel, pars i. p. 212: 'Quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat: "Sicut misit me pater et ego mitto vos. Accipite spiritum sanctum" etc.' See also St. Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum, cap. vii., Opp. ii. 783, and the Judgement of Clarus of Mascula, the 79th of the Sententiae Episcoporum delivered at the seventh of the Cyprianic councils (St. Cypr. Opp. i. 459).

in fact no other than the converted Jew, Isaac, wrote as follows:

'That which the Lord is recorded to have communicated by insufflation to His disciples . . . when He said, "Receive the Holy Ghost," is understood to be ecclesiastical power. . . . Therefore this which was in-breathed is a certain grace which is infused by transmission (per traditionem) into those who are ordained.'

In the next paragraph he shews that he rightly understands that the word 'disciples,' as used by St. John in his twentieth chapter, means in fact the Apostles; for, contrasting the gift given on the evening of Easter Day with the gift imparted at Pentecost, he says that the latter 'est generalis,' 'for the Holy Ghost came down [at Pentecost] not only on the Apostles but also on all the believers.' <sup>1</sup>

The patristic passages which I have quoted or referred to belong to the Third and Fourth centuries. I am not aware of any Second century writer who quotes or refers to St. John xx. 21–23; and I know of no writer belonging to those early centuries who shews any sign of believing that the sacred commission recorded in the Fourth Gospel was granted in the first instance to any except the Apostles. The Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was probably written before the Gospel of St. John, as Bishop Westcott observes <sup>2</sup>; and therefore there could be no allusion

¹ Quaestiones Vet. et Nov. Test. edit. Souter (Vindobon., 1908), Corp. Scriptorum Eccl. Lat. tom. l. pp. 163, 164, cap. xciii. n. 2: 'Illud autem quod insufflasse in discipulos Dominus legitur . . . et dixisse: 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum' ecclesiastica potestas intellegitur esse . . Inspiratio ergo haec gratia quaedam est quae per traditionem infunditur ordinatis.' 'Non solum enim in Apostolos, verum etiam in omnes decidit Spiritus Sanctus credentes.' To complete the testimony of the Fourth century reference may also be made to St. Ambrose (De Poenit. lib. ii. cap. ii., P.L. xvi. 499), and, as witnessing on behalf of the East, to St. Chrysostom in his comments on St. John xx. 22, 23 (Homil. lxxxvi. in Joann. x. 3, P.G. lix. 471).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Speaker's Commentary on the N.T., vol. ii. p. xxix. VOL. LXXVII,—No. CLIII.

in that Epistle to the commission as recorded by St. John. St. Clement may however have obtained knowledge of the wording of the commission directly from St. Peter, one of the two Apostles who organized the Roman Church, or by oral tradition from those who may have learnt it from him; and there is in fact a passage in the 42nd chapter of St. Clement's Epistle which seems to have been influenced by that wording. But of that passage something will be said later.

There can be no doubt that the patristic view prevailed throughout the Middle Ages; and it has certainly been the prevailing view among Anglican theologians since the Reformation. I have not space to quote the passages, but I will give a few specimen names with full references in the footnotes. The view which I have been defending was the view taken by Cranmer, Hooker, Andrewes, Sanderson, Pearson, Beveridge, and many more. And when we come to our own times, even if we exclude for obvious reasons the names of divines who would be commonly classed as avowed disciples of the Tractarian movement, I find the same view taken by F. D. Maurice, Dr. Swete, Dr. Gwatkin, and Dr. Armitage Robinson.

- <sup>1</sup> Cranmer's Catechism, edit. Burton, 1829, p. 195.
- <sup>2</sup> Hooker, Eccl. Pol. V. lxxvii. 6.
- <sup>3</sup> Andrewes, 'Sermon of the Power of Absolution,' Sermons, edit. Oxford, 1843, vol. v. pp. 91, 92.
- <sup>4</sup> Sanderson, Postscript to 'Episcopacy not Prejudicial to Regal Power,' Works, ed. Jacobson, v. 191.
- <sup>5</sup> Pearson, Determ. i. Ordo Episcopalis est Apostolicus in Minor Works, edit. Churton, i. 284.
- <sup>6</sup> Beveridge, Sermon on 'Christ's Presence with His Ministers,' Works, edit. Oxford, 1842, vol. i. p. 9.
- <sup>7</sup> F. D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, Dent & Co.'s 'Everyman's Library' edit. ii. 89-91.
- <sup>8</sup> H. B. Swete in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. 'Holy Spirit,' ii. 407a.
- <sup>9</sup> H. M. Gwatkin in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. 'Ordination,' iii. 631b.
- J. Armitage Robinson in Encyclopaedia Biblica, s.v. 'Apostle,'
   265.

From what has been said it will be seen how very inadequate and misleading Dr. Lindsay's account of the matter is, when, speaking of the commission recorded by St. John, he says: 'Some Anglicans insist that the third promise was made to the Eleven only, even if the company included other disciples.' 1 It is not 'some Anglicans' only who insist on this view of the matter, it is the whole tradition of the Christian Church from the beginning until recent times; and even now in these latter days, some of the greatest names among Continental Protestants have accepted the interpretation which Dr. Lindsay repudiates so dogmatically. I will mention four such names, giving the actual words used by one of them. If it had been worth while to make a longer search, I could doubtless have found any number of others. These then are the four names: Meyer, Weiss,<sup>2</sup> Godet<sup>3</sup> and Schmiedel,<sup>4</sup> men of very different opinions, but all of them highly distinguished Continental Protestants. The first of these, H. A. W. Meyer, of Göttingen, commenting on the words 'whose soever sins ve forgive,' etc. (St. John xx. 23), describes the gift as being 'the peculiar authority of the Apostolical office, for the exercise of which they were fitted and empowered by this impartation of the Spirit. It was therefore an individual and specific charismatic endowment. . . . The apostolic power of the keys in the sense of the Church is contained directly in the present passage.' 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry, p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bernhard Weiss, Biblical Theology of the N.T. § 154, Engl. tr. 1883, vol. ii. p. 404.

F. Godet, Commentaire sur l'Évangile de saint Jean, tome ii. p. 652.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. W. Schmiedel in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v. 'Ministry,' iii. 3126 (c). This author undoubtedly teaches that the writer of the Fourth Gospel intended to represent our Lord as having given the commission, recorded in St. John xx. 21–23, to the first Apostles and not to the disciples in general.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Meyer's Gospel of John, Engl. tr. 1875, vol. ii. p. 381.

## III

Having done what I could, however imperfectly, to set forth some of the reasons which have induced the Church to believe that our Lord gave after His Resurrection certain powers to the Apostles, and did not give them to all His followers, I desire to point out that in a very true sense the Apostolic office was intended to last until our Lord returns in glory. There are two passages in the Gospels which bring out this important fact with peculiar clearness, namely St. Luke xii. 42–44 and St. Matthew xxviii. 20. I will deal with these passages in the order in which they stand above.

In the preceding verse of the passage in St. Luke's Gospel, St. Peter is set before us as asking a highly important question: 'Lord, speakest Thou this parable unto us. or even unto all? '1 The parable, to which St. Peter refers, is the parable which begins with the words 'Be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast.' 2 In that parable there had been included an amazing promise: 'Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them.' 3 St. Peter wishes to know whether this promise is applicable to all believers, or whether the promised reward is something reserved for the Apostles. Our Lord does not precisely say that ordinary believers are excluded from the promise; but He emphasizes its special applicability to the Apostles and their successors. His answer to the question begins with a counter-question-'Who then is the faithful and wise steward (οἰκονόμος), whom his lord shall set over his household ( $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon i a s$ ), to give them their portion of food in due season?'4 The  $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon i a$  here is the whole body of household slaves in the service of the lord. The οἰκονόμος is also a slave, but he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. Luke xii. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> St. Luke xii. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Luke xii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> St. Luke xii, 42,

53

is a slave entrusted by the lord with the superintendence and management of all the other slaves. The θεραπεία corresponds with the 'all' in St. Peter's question; the οἰκονόμος corresponds with the 'us,' that is with the Apostles. Our Lord then goes on thus: 'Blessed is that slave, whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing,'1 that is to say, giving faithfully their portion of food to the subordinate slaves at the proper times. 'Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath.'2 Our Lord in figurative language promises an official reward in the kingdom of glory to those who shall have faithfully exercised the Apostolic office here below. The perspicacious Presbyterian commentator, Godet, makes at this point a very significant and true observation. He says:

'Cette parole paraît impliquer que, dans la pensée de Christ. le ministère de la Parole se perpétuera jusqu'à son retour. Les apôtres l'ont si bien compris, qu'au moment de quitter la terre ils ont pourvu à sa continuation par l'établissement du pastorat, qui a la mission de pourvoir à la distribution régulière de la nourriture spirituelle aux troupeaux qui composent l'Eglise, la maison du Seigneur; comp. les épîtres Pastorales et i. Pierre v. La théorie, qui fait du pastorat une émanation et une représentation de l'Eglise, n'est pas biblique; cette charge est une émanation de l'apostolat, lequel procède de Christ; il est ainsi médiatement une institution de Jésus lui-même.' 3

There can, I think, be no doubt that Godet is entirely correct when he denies that the Christian Ministry is derived by delegation from the Church at large, and when he asserts that, according to the teaching of the Bible, the Ministry inherits its authority from the Apostolate, which itself received its commission wholly from Christ. The un-Scriptural theory, which Godet opposes, has never been accepted by the Church. If it ever had been accepted and acted on, such a proceeding would have been tantamount to a sacrilegious usurpation by the Church of the crownrights of her Divine Lord.

St. Luke xii. 43. <sup>2</sup> St. Luke xii. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Godet, Commentaire sur l'Évangile de saint Luc, c. xii. 42-44, edit. 1889, tome ii. p. 156.

That the apostolate was to be perpetuated through the ages until our Saviour's return appears also from the wording of the promise bestowed by our Lord on the Eleven, and recorded in the last verse of St. Matthew's Gospel: 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' That promise forms the gracious conclusion of the great commission, which our Lord after His Resurrection gave to His Apostles on the mountain in Galilee, whither in fulfilment of His own appointment they had come to meet Him. Dr. John Wordsworth, the late Bishop of Salisbury, speaking of the commissions given to the Apostles during the forty days which followed our Lord's Resurrection, says:

'In those days He removed the limits which He had previously set to their activity; He gave them the world for their sphere and made them His representatives in it; He bade them make disciples of all nations, and introduce them into His kingdom by baptism into the threefold name; He left them to teach His commandments; He looked forward to a continuance of their ministry to the end of time.' <sup>2</sup>

Two hundred years earlier, Bishop Beveridge of St. Asaph, referring to St. Matthew xxviii. 20, had discussed the question—' In what sense the Apostles were to continue to the end of the world,' and had said:

'It is plain . . . that the persons to whom our Saviour speaks these words, were not to be here so long, being all long ago dead. And therefore I do not see how we can possibly understand the words in any other sense than this, even that our Lord spake them to His Apostles, not as private persons, as Peter, James, or John, etc., but as Apostles, as persons now placed by Him in an office, that should always continue in His Church. So that the promise is made not so much to the persons of the Apostles, as to the Office Apostolical; or at least to their persons only as vested with that office, and by consequence to all persons to the end of the world, that should ever have that office conferred on them.' <sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xxviii, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bishop John Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, edit. 1901, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Beveridge, Sermon on 'Christ's Presence with His Ministers,' Works, edit. Oxford, 1842, vol. i. p. 5.

The Bishop then goes on to shew that to be called immediately by Christ was not an exclusive apostolic prerogative, for so also were the seventy and many others. Again, to be divinely inspired to speak all manner of languages, to foretell things to come, to work miracles to confirm their doctrine, was shared by many others who were not Apostles. These things formed no part of the apostolic office, but were extraordinary favours and privileges vouchsafed to the persons of the Apostles.

'But the office properly apostolical consisted only in such things as had an immediate reference to the propagating, edifying, and governing of the Church in all ages. . . . This was properly the office apostolical, which therefore was not to die with the persons of the Apostles, but was to be transmitted by them to all after-ages, as our Lord Himself intimates in the very description of it. For He here bids His Apostles go and make all nations His disciples; which, it is plain, the persons He spake these words to neither did nor ever could accomplish, being to continue, as we know they did, but a little while upon earth. . . . And therefore this command itself, as well as the promise, must needs be so understood, as to be given not only to the persons of the Apostles then present, but to all that should succeed them in that office to the end of the world.' <sup>1</sup>

## IV

I hope that, as far as it is possible to do so within the limits of an article like this, I have established on the basis of Holy Scripture the two fundamental truths on which the doctrine of the Apostolic succession rests. These truths are (1) that our Lord selected, trained, and commissioned His Apostles, imparting to them far-reaching powers enabling them to propagate and govern the Church; and (2) that our Lord intended that the ordinary powers of the apostolical office should be transmitted by the Apostles to others who should succeed them, and that the office and the powers belonging to the office, thus transmitted, should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Beveridge, op. cit. vol. i. p. 6.

continue in the Church until our Lord's return in glory. It remains that I should attempt to shew, in what I fear will be a sadly hurried fashion, how the second of these

principles was in fact carried out.

I pass over the aggregation of St. Matthias and of St. Paul to the Apostolic college, because they were, neither of them, invested with the Apostolic office by way of transmission of authority from those who were Apostles before them. St. Paul assures us that he was 'an Apostle not from men, neither through men, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father.' I entirely agree with Dr. Lindsay and Sir William Ramsay and the Bishop of Oxford that St. Paul claimed to have been and was an Apostle from his conversion, and that the separation of him for his missionary work among the Gentiles, which took place at Antioch by the special direction of the Holy Ghost, was in no way the origin of his Apostolate.

I also pass over with regret any discussion of what is sometimes called the charismatic ministry, about which much has been written of late. That ministry would include persons like Andronicus and Junias, who bore the great title of Apostles,<sup>7</sup> though of course in the case of them and of others like them it did not imply the possession of the high and lofty powers which were entrusted to the Twelve and to St. Paul. These inferior Apostles and the subordinate order of Prophets belong to the First century of the Christian era. As Mr. Turner observes: 'After the beginning of the second century the two orders disappear.' Even in St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, which was written before the end of the First century, and deals with the subject of the Christian Ministry, we read nothing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gal. i. I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry, 4th edit. p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller, pp. 66, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bp. Gore, The Ministry of the Christian Church, edit. 1889, p. 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Acts xxii. 21 and xxvi. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Acts xiii. 1–3. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Rom. xvi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Turner, Studies in Early Church History, p. 16.

about them.<sup>1</sup> They were a temporary phenomenon, concerning which very little of an authentic nature is really known,<sup>2</sup> and they seem to have little or nothing to do with the subject of the Apostolic Succession, which was the constitutive principle of the permanently abiding ministry of the Church.

That permanently abiding ministry began of course with the great Apostles themselves. They had received their mission and consecration from our Lord, who had Himself been sent and sealed (St. John vi. 27) by God the Father. Even the Incarnate Son of God Himself could not possibly, it would appear, carry out His Messianic ministry without mission and solemn setting apart for the fulfilment of His charge; and the mission must come from One who had authority to send, and the solemn setting apart from One who had authority to consecrate. This mission and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Turner (op. cit. p. 30) says that in St. Clement's Epistle 'the Apostles are the Twelve alone.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We should know somewhat more than we do about the charismatic ministry, if it were safe to rely on the information supplied by the Didache. But our best scholars practically warn us against any such reliance. Mr. Turner (op. cit. p. 31), for example, writes as follows: 'If the "Teaching" is to be a factor in the full current of Church development, it ought to be placed about the year 60; it does not follow that so early a date is inevitable, if the "Teaching" represents-and we have seen that it does represent—a line of thought of a quite unique and comparatively alien cast.' Mr. Turner suggests that the Didache 'emanates from some remote half-isolated district, perhaps beyond the Jordan,' and he holds that 'a date between 80 and 100 A.D. is as late as' he is 'prepared to admit.' On the other hand Dr. Armitage Robinson, in an article entitled 'The Problem of the Didache,' which appeared in the Journal of Theological Studies for April 1912 (vol. xiii. pp. 339-356), evidently holds that the Didache was written well on in the course of the Second century, though before the time when 'Montanism had attained any considerable vogue' (p. 355). His view appears to be that the Didache contains a fancy sketch of what the writer supposed to be the state of things about a hundred years before his own time. Dr. Robinson (p. 354) concludes that the writer 'contributes almost nothing, except doubtful exegesis, to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry.'

consecration carried within it authority to transmit a similar mission and consecration to His own successors, the Apostles. And so our Lord said to them: 'As the Father hath sent me even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' And again this Apostolic mission and consecration conveyed to the Apostles the authority to transmit to their successors the ordinary and permanent powers belonging to their office; and thus it must go on until our Lord returns.

We must study next the way in which the government of the Church was carried on in the Pentecostal days and afterwards. As Bishop Lightfoot says:

'St. Luke's narrative represents the twelve Apostles in the earliest days as the sole directors and administrators of the Church. . . . To relieve them from the increasing pressure, the inferior and less important functions passed successively into other hands; and thus each grade of the ministry, beginning from the lowest, was created in order. The establishment of the diaconate came first. . . . The Apostles suggested the creation of this new office, but the persons were chosen by popular election and afterwards ordained by the Twelve with imposition of hands.' <sup>1</sup>

Thus, looking at the Church on its human, earthly side, it started its course under the sole government of the Apostles; and, when other orders of ministry were created, their power was derived from that of the Apostles, and it was exercised under the high superintendence and direction of the Apostles. It was the inferior and less important functions which were communicated to the priests and deacons, the higher functions remaining in the hands of the Apostles. Moreover, as soon as the first and lowest order, that of the diaconate, was called into existence, it became evident that the government of the Church was to be hierarchical.

It must further be noticed that this hierarchy was not merely a hierarchy of jurisdiction. It was also a hierarchy of order. One could imagine a hierarchy being constituted, in which all the members, in whatever grade they might

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, edit. 1892, p. 144.

be placed, should possess equally all the sacramental powers conferred by our Lord on the apostolate, so that the difference between one grade and another would solely consist in the possession of a greater or less degree of directing authority. A plan of that sort might have been followed: but in fact that was not the plan which the Apostles under the guidance of the Holy Chost elected to follow. There was indeed in the several grades a difference in the measure of directing authority which each possessed; but there was also a difference of sacramental power. When St. Philip, the deacon, went down to the city of Samaria. he proclaimed the Christ unto the Samaritans, he also worked miracles, and finally he baptized the new converts.1 The miracles which he worked were due no doubt to charismatic gifts of exorcism and healing which had been bestowed on him, not as part of his diaconal office, but as an extraordinary aid to the successful exercise of that office. On the other hand, he proclaimed the Christ and he baptized the neophytes in his capacity as an ordained deacon. But there were sacramental functions which, as a deacon, he had no power to exercise. He could not ministerially bestow the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands; in other words he could not complete the sacramental initiation of the new converts by confirming them. It was necessary that the Apostolic college at Jerusalem should send two of its number, St. Peter and St. John, to Samaria to finish the work which St. Philip had so well begun. They did not take this journey in order to preach or work miracles or baptize. At any rate, if they did, St. Luke has not thought it worth while to record the fact. What he records is that they prayed for the newly baptized that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and then through the laying on of their hands the Holy Ghost was given.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts viii. 5-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts viii. 14-18. Compare also St. Paul's similar action at Ephesus, recorded in Acts xix. 5, 6, and bear in mind the fact that the laying on of hands, which followed Baptism, is numbered among 'the first principles of Christ' in Heb. vi. 1, 2. The Samaritan

One quite understands how it came to pass that Renan, studying these episodes of the book of the Acts from a detached standpoint, comes to the conclusion that one of the favourite theses of the author of that book was 'l'institution divine de la hiérarchie.' For myself, I do not believe for a moment that St. Luke inserted these things in his book in order to bolster up a favourite thesis. He inserted them because he knew on the highest authority that the divine institution of the hierarchy was a fact, and a fact of very great importance.

The creation of the order of the priesthood or of the presbyterate seems like that of the diaconate to have taken place at Jerusalem; and along with the presbyterate there emerged at the same time and in the same place a still higher office, namely that which in later times would have been described as the monarchical episcopate. Bishop Lightfoot connects these important events with the martyrdom of St. James the Greater, which 'seems to have been the signal for the withdrawal of the Apostles themselves from Jerusalem.' 2 'Since Jerusalem would no longer be their home as hitherto, it became necessary to provide for the permanent direction of the Church there; and for this purpose the usual government of the synagogue would be adopted. Now at all events for the first time we read of "presbyters" in connexion with the Christian brotherhood at Jerusalem.' So, consigning the direction of the mother Church to James the Lord's brother and the presbytery, they [the Apostles] depart thence to enter upon a wider field of action.' 4

episode shews clearly, I think, that deacons had no authority to confirm. It of course throws no light on the question whether, when presbyters began to be ordained, they could or could not be allowed to confirm.

- <sup>1</sup> Renan, Les Apôtres, edit. 1866, p. xxxix.
- <sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 9th edit. 1887, p. 303.
- <sup>3</sup> Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, 4th edit. 1878, p. 193.
  - 4 Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 303.

St. James, the brother of the Lord, though possibly not one of the Twelve, was anyhow an Apostle on a level with the Twelve 1 and with St. Paul. He is named in Gal. ii. o before St. Peter and St. John, in a passage where St. Paul is enumerating those 'who were reputed to be pillars.' He undoubtedly presided at the Council of Jerusalem, where a number of Apostles, including St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas were present.<sup>2</sup> He is carefully distinguished from the presbyters of his Church in Acts xxi.18: 'The day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the presbyters were present.' St. Peter, when mentioning the officials of the Church of Jerusalem, mentions only James, omitting all reference to the presbyters: 'Tell these things unto James and to the brethren.' No doubt, in a sense, he was a member of the Jerusalem presbytery; but on account of his apostolic office he towered far above all the other members of that body. It must be remembered that St. Peter himself, addressing the Christians of the Churches in the group of provinces constituting what we now call Asia Minor, says: 'The presbyters therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellowpresbyter,' 3 and the same style is adopted by the monarchical Bishops of later times, such as St. Cyprian, 4 St. Augustine, 5 and others, who speak of their presbyters, or of presbyters to whom they were writing, as 'compresbyteri.'

<sup>2</sup> I may perhaps be allowed to refer to *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, 3rd edit. 1900, pp. 113-116.

<sup>3</sup> I St. Peter v. I.

4 St. Cyprian. Ep. xiv. ad Presbyteros et Diaconos fratres, §4,

Οφφ., ed. Hartel, ii. 512.

<sup>5</sup> St. Augustine, Ep. xl., P.L. xxxiii. 154; Ep. lxvii., P.L. xxxiii. 236; Ep. lxxi., P.L. xxxiii. 241, etc., and compare Ambrosiaster, Quaestiones Vet. et Nov. Test., qu. cxxvii., edit. Souter, Corp. Scriptorum Eccl. Lat. vol. l. p. 196 (Vindobon., 1908).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Lightfoot's comment on Gal. i. 19 (op. cit. pp. 84, 85). St. James was already an Apostle, when St. Paul visited Jerusalem in A.D. 38. Père Lagrange, O.P., in his Évangile selon saint Marc (pp. 72-89) has given some weighty reasons tending in the direction of identifying St. James, the Lord's brother, with St. James, the son of Alphaeus.

But, while the presbyterate had its origin at Jerusalem, sa soon as the missionary work of the Church was extended to the Gentiles, presbyters were appointed by the Apostles to shepherd the Gentile Churches. So Bishop Lightfoot says:

'On their very first missionary journey the Apostles Paul and Barnabas are described as appointing presbyters in every Church.¹ The same rule was doubtless carried out in all the brotherhoods founded later; but it is mentioned here and here only, because the mode of procedure on this occasion would suffice as a type of the Apostles' dealings elsewhere under similar circumstances.' <sup>2</sup>

But there is a difference to be noticed in this early stage of missionary work among the Gentiles between the organization of the Gentile Churches and the organization of the mother Church at Jerusalem. We do not read of St. Paul and St. Barnabas appointing any representatives of the Apostolic order to fill, in the several Gentile Churches. the rôle which St. James filled at Jerusalem. The reason is obvious. The mother Church was relatively a Church of long standing, which had enjoyed the presence of the whole college of Apostles from the day of Pentecost until the government of the Church was handed over to St. James and his presbyters. By that time there would doubtless be no difficulty in giving to the Church of Jerusalem complete autonomy. Moreover the Christians of Jerusalem had all their lives been worshippers of the One true God, and had lived under the discipline of His law; and there was an Apostle at hand, a brother of the Lord, ready to be their Bishop. But it would be most improbable that, among the new converts from heathenism, who formed the Gentile Churches of St. Paul's foundation, any one would be found who was fitted to act as its monarchical Bishop. The most ordinary prudence would make it necessary that St. Paul should retain in his own hands the higher functions of government and of sacramental ministration, under which head I specially include

<sup>1</sup> Acts xiv. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 193.

ordination. As to the question whether he conferred on the Gentile presbyters the right to administer confirmation, I cannot speak with certainty. In the East and in parts of the West presbyters were allowed to confirm as early as the Fourth century and perhaps earlier; but I know of no conclusive evidence bearing on the subject in the Apostolic age. Nevertheless, on the whole, I think that it is probable that the Gentile presbyters were given authority to confirm.1 It is no doubt dangerous to argue from silence; but I am impressed with the fact that, while there is so much in the first Epistle to Timothy and in the Epistle to Titus about the careful selection of candidates for ordination, there is nothing similar said about confirmation. There is, so far as I can remember. no allusion to confirmation in either of those Epistles. Such silence is not conclusive, but it points in the direction which I have indicated.

I shall speak more fully about ordination presently. At the point at which we now are, I desire to emphasize the fact that, as regards the Churches of his foundation, St. Paul obviously retained in his own hands the higher functions of government. Dr. Hamilton has gathered together in a very convincing way the proofs of this position, at any rate so far as the specially gifted Corinthian Church was concerned. He says:

'The Greek religious confraternities passed their by-laws and resolutions, and had their special officers to carry them into effect. Did the Christian communities do likewise? In the

¹ The general practice of the Church shews that presbyters have a capacity for being permitted to confirm. That permission may be given by special licence from superior authority, or by recognized local custom. Confirmation, unlike ordination, is a rite intended for all Christians, and so long as large numbers of local Churches were under the supervision of an itinerating Apostle, who from the nature of his work could only visit any particular Church at very rare intervals, it would seem probable that he would sanction the administration of confirmation by the local resident presbyters. At a later stage, when each local Church had its resident monarchical Bishop, the circumstances would be entirely altered.

course of time such an organization was developed, but it was not coeval with the earliest foundation of the Churches. In fact, at the time of 1 and 2 Cor., so far were the Pauline Churches from possessing any special permanent officers for this purpose, that they scarcely seem to have exercised these functions at all. The Corinthian Church, for instance, not only wrote to St. Paul for instruction on the subject of marriage (I Cor. vii. I-24), virgins (I Cor. vii. 25-40), things sacrificed to idols (I Cor. viii.), and possibly also spiritual gifts (I Cor. xii.); but even points with which a local organization might surely have dealt were left to the decision of the Apostle. Thus the Apostle settles the question of the uncovering of men's and the covering of women's heads at divine service (I Cor. xi. 2-16); gives regulations for the control and order of speakers (I Cor. xiv. 26-33), and addresses by women (I Cor. xiv. 34-5); and even appoints the method by which the money for the poor at Jerusalem is to be gathered, and sends an envoy to organize it (I Cor. xvi. 1-4, 2 Cor. viii. 6). If such matters as these did not fall within the scope of a legislative organization, one cannot but wonder what class of subject was left for it to deliberate and resolve upon. It would seem, then, that at the time when I and 2 Cor. were written, the Corinthian Church knew nothing of special officers for legislative purposes.' 1

The substantial accuracy of Dr. Hamilton's conclusions is thoroughly corroborated by the wholly independent statement made by Professor Schmiedel. He says:

'The attitude assumed by Paul towards the communities of his own founding wholly departs from the analogy furnished by the heathen guilds of worship. Paul's attitude is wholly patriarchal. He acted on the ground that he was their father with thorough-going seriousness (I Cor. iv. 14ff.). He commands (I Cor. xi. 17–34, xiv. 26–40, xvi. I), and that very definitely, precisely where institutions are concerned. He makes very short work with contumacy (I Cor. vii. 40; xi. 16; xiv. 37 ff.). Partisanship on behalf of individual teachers he sets down (I Cor. iii. 3 ff.) to carnal-mindedness, disregard of his authority to arrogance (I Cor. iv. 18). He disclaims judgment of himself (I Cor. ii. 14–16; iv. 3–5) with a clearness that leaves nothing to be desired. Against the Judaizing teachers he declares himself in 2 Cor. xi. 13–15, Gal. i. 7–9, v. 10–12 with the greatest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hamilton, The People of God, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.

asperity. In short, in his person there appears the same unconditioned authority which Jesus had.' 1

How different from all this is the view of the matter taken by Dr. Lindsay! He says: 'The assembly of the local Church summoned even Apostles before it, and passed judgement upon their conduct [Acts xi. I-4]. The Apostles might suggest, but the congregation ruled.' And again, speaking of the Pauline Epistles, which he divides into two groups, namely (1) the earlier Epistles, and (2) the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Lindsay says:

'In the earlier letters we see the Apostle encouraging every form of spontaneous action, and how he made the infant communities feel that the whole responsibility lay upon their shoulders. In the later Epistles the master-builder shows his deputies how carefully he was accustomed to guide the exercise of that responsibility with scarcely felt touches of the hand.' 3

The readers of this article must decide whether in their opinion Lindsay on the one side or Hamilton and Schmiedel on the other approach nearest to the truth. To me it seems clear that with whatever lightness of touch St. Paul may have, on occasion, guided his converts, he was always conscious of his supreme apostolic authority, and exerted it to the utmost, whenever he felt it to be desirable to do so. The idea that, in regard to the first age of the Church, it is true to say that 'the Apostles might suggest, but the congregation ruled,' appears to me (I say it with all respect) to be simply ludicrous; and the whole conception of the relation of the Apostles whether to the inferior clergy or to the laity, which is summed up in that idea, seems to me to be wholly un-Scriptural.

The upshot of this discussion seems to be that the mother Church of Jerusalem, after the departure of the Twelve, was organized under St. James, the brother of the Lord, as Apostolic President, assisted by a college of presbyters and by the deacons, originally seven in number;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Schmiedel, s.v. 'Ministry,' Encyclopaedia Biblica, iii. 3111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry, 4th edit. p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lindsay, op. cit. p. 144. VOL. LXXVII.—NO. CLIII.

and that the Gentile Churches founded by St. Paul were ruled principally by the Apostolic Founder who appointed and ordained the inferior clergy, and reserved to himself the chief share in the government of each of the Churches which he founded. 1 settling the matters which needed to be settled either by word of mouth on the occasions when he personally visited them,2 or, during his absence, by writing Epistles to them, or by sending to them delegates such as Timothy, Erastus, Titus and others.3 During the periods when St. Paul was absent from any of these Churches of his foundation, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated, and Baptism and probably also Confirmation were administered, by the presbyters whom he had ordained. In some Churches there were also deacons, who in subordinate ways assisted the presbyters; but there can be no doubt that the deacons neither celebrated nor confirmed. At Ephesus, towards the end of St. Paul's life, some of the presbyters laboured in the Word and in teaching.4 Perhaps at an earlier stage that sort of work was for the most part or even wholly left to charismatic persons, whether clerical or lay.

I do not propose to waste time and space in setting out once more the proof that the great majority of the Fathers who have in any way dealt with the matter were right in holding that the officials spoken of in Phil. i. τ, τ Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 7 as ἐπίσκοποι, are to be identified with the officials spoken of in the Acts, Pastoral Epistles, and in some of the Catholic Epistles as πρεσβύτεροι. This identification is accepted by Lightfoot, Sanday, Bishop Chase, Lindsay, Gwatkin, Loofs, Schmiedel, Sir W. Ramsay, Löning, Rainy, Bigg, Knowling, and Hamilton. The later use of the word ἐπίσκοπος to denote, not presbyters in the restricted sense of the term, but the ordainer and ruler of such presbyters, does not appear in Christian literature before St. Ignatius

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 28: 'My daily solicitude, my anxious care for all the churches.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts xix. 22; 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 23. <sup>4</sup> I Tim. v. 17. <sup>5</sup> See the full references given in Hamilton (op. cit. ii. 215). I take the list, which of course could be much lengthened, from him.

of Antioch wrote his Epistles in the time of Trajan. The office itself is earlier than the time of St. Ignatius—I should think at least seventy years earlier <sup>1</sup>; but the application of the title of bishop to the holder of the office is not found in any extant writing earlier than St. Ignatius' Epistles.

## V

Here it will be well to go a little more into detail in regard to the functions committed to the presbyters in the Gentile Churches founded by St. Paul. I have no doubt that Dr. Hamilton is right in regarding the celebration of the Holy Eucharist as belonging to the presbyter's office and as constituting its most essential feature.2 He is considering the office as it existed in the first fifteen or sixteen years of its existence, in order to find out what was its primary raison d'être; and he discusses in turn each of the various kinds of corporate activity, which might conceivably have been handed over from the very beginning to the presbyters' leadership. He gives good reasons for thinking that these office-bearers were not called into existence in order to deal with legislative and executive work,3 nor for the administration of finance,4 nor for the administration of justice and discipline,5 nor to preside at meetings for prayer and edification.6 He admits that the presbyters took part in pastoral work; but he thinks that they took part in it 'as a secondary and incidental duty.' Finally he shews on general grounds and by the express evidence of what he regards as the earliest Christian literature outside the New Testament, namely St. Clement's Epistle to the

4 Op. cit. pp. 101-105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The martyrdom of St. James the Greater and the dispersion of the Twelve are events which are commonly assigned to the year A.D. 44. It must have been in that year at latest that St. James, the brother of the Lord, began to preside over the Church of Jerusalem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Op. cit. pp. 105, 106.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. p. 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Op. cit. pp. 106, 107.

Corinthians and the Didache, that there was the closest connexion between the presbyters and the Eucharist. Speaking of St. Clement's Epistle, he says: 'This whole letter . . . may be said to be a vigorous protest against allowing any one but a duly authorized presbyter or bishop to fill the bishop's place in offering gifts'; and he continues thus: 'The Didache, again, speaks of the weekly Eucharist (c. xiv): and then goes on to say "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons" (c. xv). The "therefore" shews the connexion between the Eucharist and the bishops and deacons,' 1

The Clementine Epistle is of course a document of the very highest importance. I do not for myself attach much importance to the Didache; but I give Dr. Hamilton's quotation from it for what it may be worth.

I am not sure that I altogether agree with Dr. Hamilton's view that the presbyters only took part in pastoral work 'as a secondary and incidental duty.' When our Lord publicly re-instated St. Peter, after his penitence for his threefold denial, in the full right to exercise his apostolic office. He emphasized the fact that the Apostolic office was in its relation to the main body of the Church a Pastorate. He said 'Feed My lambs'; 'Shepherd My sheep'; 'Feed My sheep.' The whole Church is a flock which was committed to the shepherding of the Apostles; and every local Church is a flock committed for all ordinary purposes to the shepherding of the resident representatives of the Apostles. The presbyters of Ephesus or Philippi were representatives of the founder-Apostle, St. Paul, and were under-shepherds, appointed to feed the local flock; and no doubt they fed it in a pre-eminent way, when they celebrated the Holy Eucharist. Accordingly when St. Paul at Miletus gave his great charge to the Ephesian presbyters, his central injunction ran thus: 'Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the Church of God, which He purchased with His own Blood.' 2 I should therefore regard the presbyters of the Pauline Churches as pastors from the beginning:

but I should also assert in the strongest way that the central and most important function of their pastorate was the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. When they baptized and confirmed, if they did confirm, they were dealing not with their Church, but with neophytes whom they were initiating into full membership in the Church. But when they celebrated the Holy Eucharist, they were offering the Church's Sacrifice, and providing the Banquet on which the Church was to feed.

## VI

We now pass to the consideration of the way in which presbyters and deacons became presbyters and deacons. It is quite certain that the first deacons were ordained by the Apostles with prayer and the laying on of hands (see Acts vi. 6); and, as in the whole history of the Church during the first fifteen centuries no instance has ever been recorded of a deacon being ordained without prayer and the laying on of hands, it may be presumed that, to use Lightfoot's words about the apostolic appointment of presbyters, 'it is mentioned here and here only, because the mode of procedure on this occasion would suffice as a type of the Apostles' dealings elsewhere under similar circumstances.' 1

As regards presbyters, no record of the circumstances attending the appointment and ordination of the first presbyters at Jerusalem has reached us. Presumably they were appointed and ordained by St. James, either acting alone or in co-operation with other Apostles, and the choice of the persons may very probably have been made by the whole assembly of the Church of Jerusalem, or at least the assent of that assembly to the choice made by Apostles may have been signified. In the case of the presbyters in the Pauline Churches, we are told by St. Luke that, in the course of St. Paul's first missionary journey in Southern Galatia, he and his fellow-Apostle, St. Barnabas, appointed for the disciples presbyters in every Church.<sup>2</sup> St. Luke

See above, on p. 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts xiv. 23.

does not expressly mention the laying on of hands, though he does mention prayer and fasting; but, as we know that St. Paul laid hands on Timothy, when he ordained him, and believed that an important charisma was bestowed on Timothy by that laying on of hands, and as there is no rebutting evidence of any sort or kind, we may assume that in Galatia and elsewhere St. Paul used the rite of the laying on of hands, whenever he ordained.

The next important point to notice is that there is no trace in the New Testament of presbyters presuming to ordain either to the diaconate or to the presbyterate. Presbyters did indeed join in the laying on of hands, when St. Paul ordained Timothy <sup>2</sup>; just as to this day, both in the Anglican and Latin Churches, presbyters join with the Bishop in the laying on of hands at the ordination of a presbyter; and in the Latin Church, when a Bishop is to be consecrated, and the full canonical number of three consecrating Bishops cannot be obtained, one or, if necessary, two presbyters supply the place or places of the one or two Bishops who may be lacking. Of course the consecration could not take place at all if there were no consecrating Bishop. When Pelagius I, in A.D. 555, was consecrated to the See of Rome, there were only two Bishops present, John of Perusium and Bonus of Ferentinum. Accordingly, the presbyter, Andreas, had to take the place of the absent third. And there are not a few similar cases recorded as having happened at the consecration of Bishops belonging to the Roman communion. It need hardly be added that, if Scripture contains no trace of ordination by presbyters, it naturally contains no trace of ordination by deacons or lay people; nor of what would be still more unthinkable, the creation of a presbyter by mere election without any ordination at all.

Are we then to understand that, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament, the Apostles were the only persons who had the right to ordain? By no means. We have, of course, hardly any information about the other Apostles; but we may reasonably suppose, in default of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. i. 6. <sup>2</sup> Compare 2 Tim. i. 6 with 1 Tim. iv. 14.

any evidence to the contrary, that their practice in such a matter agreed with that of St. Paul. Now St. Paul had what one may venture to call a number of staff officers at his disposal, and to two of these, perhaps to all of them, he had communicated, no doubt by ordination, the apostolic power of ordaining. A year or so before his martyrdom, after his release from his first captivity at Rome, he left Titus in Crete, charging him to appoint presbyters in every city 1; and he gives him detailed instructions, as to what sort of persons he is to appoint, in an Epistle written after his departure from the island.2

It was presumably during the same voyage that he went, accompanied by Timothy, to Ephesus, or at any rate to Miletus; and him he left at or sent to Ephesus, when he himself was starting to proceed on his way to Macedonia.3 To Timothy also he sent a letter after he had parted from him, full of detailed directions as to how he was to use the very extensive powers over the members of the Church of Ephesus, which had been committed to him. Among these entrusted powers was that of selecting men whom he could appoint, some to the presbyterate, others to the diaconate; and instructions are given to Timothy, not unlike those given in the Epistle to Titus, telling him what sort of persons he is to choose both for the higher and also for the lower office. It must be remembered that the Church of Ephesus was no longer a Church in its early infancy. It had been founded ten or eleven years before; and a college of presbyters had been shepherding it for at least seven years, that is to say, ever since the close of St. Paul's long sojourn there. If these presbyters had been accustomed to ordain other presbyters during that time, whenever additional presbyters were needed, it seems very strange that St. Paul should give such detailed instructions to Timothy as to the sort of people he was to promote at Ephesus to the diaconate and to the presbyterate. Why should it be supposed that Timothy's sojourn at Ephesus would be the occasion of a general ordination, if the local presbyters had been doing all that was necessary in that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Titus i. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Titus i, 6–9.

<sup>3</sup> I Tim. i. 3.

matter? Moreover, if the local presbyters had authority to ordain, it would have been obviously wiser to direct Timothy not to meddle in a department of work which could be much better dealt with by the local clergy, who would have an intimate knowledge of those who were seeking ordination. The whole of this first Epistle to Timothy seems to me to imply that Timothy belonged to an order in the hierarchy superior to that to which any of the Ephesian clergy had attained; and I should be inclined to think that he had been consecrated to that superior order at Lystra, when St. Paul took him to be his associate in his apostolic work.1 Both Silvanus and Timothy seem to be called 'Apostles of Christ' in I Thess. ii. 6; and I notice that Dr. Lindsay assumes that both the laying on of St. Paul's hands, mentioned in 2 Tim. i. 6, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery mentioned in I Tim. iv. 14, took place at Lystra on the occasion to which I have referred.2

Perhaps Tychicus and Artemas may also have been Apostles in the wider sense. One of them, presumably Artemas, was to be sent to Crete, apparently to carry on Titus' work (Tit. iii. 12); and at a later date Tychicus was sent to Ephesus, when Timothy was bidden to come to be with St. Paul at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 12 and 9). Titus, when he left Crete, was to join St. Paul at Nicopolis in Epirus (Tit. iii. 12); and later, he went up the eastern coast of the Adriatic to Dalmatia, presumably on a mission similar to the one which he had carried out in Crete. As Titus' mission to Dalmatia is coupled with that of Crescens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts xvi. 3. Oecumenius (Comment. in Ep. i. ad Timoth. i. 18-20, P.G. cxix. 145) seems to teach that Timothy was consecrated to the episcopate immediately after his circumcision.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry, p. 143, n. 1. Dr. Lindsay describes the event in a characteristically minimizing way. Speaking of Timothy, he says: 'The Apostle received him with the kindly Jewish benediction, laying his hands on his head (2 Tim. i. 6); and the elders of the Church also gave the young man their benediction before he set out on his new life-work (Acts xvi. 1-4; 1 Tim. iv. 14).'

to Galatia, <sup>1</sup> it is not impossible that Crescens also may have been a minor Apostle. These are merely suggestions, which however have, all of them, in my opinion, some foundation. If there is any truth in them, they tend to shew that other members of St. Paul's staff, <sup>2</sup> besides Timothy and Titus, were Apostolic Evangelists empowered to ordain.

On the other hand, the notion that all presbyters in the Pauline Churches had received authority to ordain appears to have no Scriptural evidence in its favour, and some very strong Scriptural evidence militating against its truth.<sup>3</sup>

It is time now to pass to the very important evidence of the letter addressed by the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, commonly called the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome, and, no doubt, drafted by that illustrious saint.

It will be well, before examining the statements made in the letter, to recall some things connected with St. Clement and with the Roman Church, which tend to enhance the importance of what is stated in the letter. Bishop Lightfoot, speaking of Apostolic visits to the Roman Church, says:

'The visit of Paul was followed after an interval (we know not how long) by the visit of Peter. Now at all events Clement must have been a Christian, so that he would have associated directly with both these great preachers of Christianity. Indeed his own language seems to imply as much. He speaks of them as "the good Apostles" (cap. v.)—an epithet which suggests a personal acquaintance with them. The later traditions, which represent him as having been consecrated bishop by one or other

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 10. Galatia probably means Gaul in this passage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> If it could be proved that the Pauline presbyters had authority to ordain, such a conclusion would not in any way affect the principle of the Apostolic Succession. It would merely mean that the Pauline presbyter-bishops ought to be identified, so far as the power of ordination is concerned, with Ignatian Bishops and not with Ignatian presbyters. In that case the presbyters of the Second and Third centuries, who undoubtedly had no power to ordain, must have been a novelty, when they were first introduced. But it does not seem worth while to spend time in discussing a theory which has no basis.

of these Apostles, cannot be literally true; but they are explained by the underlying fact of his immediate discipleship.' <sup>1</sup>

Lightfoot goes on to point out the probability of Clement having been also acquainted with St. Mark and St. Luke and with Sylvanus, Timothy, Titus, and others, who were followers of one or other or both of these Apostles, and were in Rome during their sojourn there. <sup>2</sup>

Clement's name stands third in the older and more authentic lists of the Bishops of Rome; his immediate predecessor being Cletus or Anencletus, who succeeded the first Bishop, Linus. St. Irenaeus, speaking of St. Peter and St. Paul and their work in Rome, says:

'The blessed Apostles, having founded and built up the church, entrusted the ministry of the episcopate to Linus. . . . Anencletus succeeds him. After him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement obtains the episcopate, who also saw the blessed Apostles and conversed with them, and was not alone in having before his eyes the still well-remembered message proclaimed by the Apostles and their tradition; for many, who had been taught by the Apostles, were in his day still left remaining.' <sup>3</sup>

Bishop Lightfoot, speaking of Linus and Anencletus, says: 'As regards the names, I see no reason to question that they not only represent historical persons, but that they were bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church.' <sup>4</sup> One may perhaps conjecture that, after the great fire of Rome in July A.D. 64, when it was evident that Nero was intending to divert men's minds from himself by ordering the Christians to be massacred in large numbers, the two Apostles may have consecrated Linus to be at Rome what St. James was at Jerusalem, <sup>5</sup> and, considering

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, St. Clement of Rome, edit. 1890, i. 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Lightfoot, op. cit. p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> St. Iren. Adv. Haer. III. iii. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lightfoot, St. Clement of Rome, edit. 1890, i. 340; see also op. cit. i. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> We do not know what persons in this position were called in the First century. In the Second century they would have been

how uncertain it must have been whether Linus would survive the impending persecution, they may have also consecrated Anencletus and Clement, with a right of succession so as to secure in that terrible time the survival at Rome of at least one of those whom Tertullian calls 'transmitters of the Apostolic seed.' 1

But to return to the Clementine Epistle. The first point to notice is that, though there is no doubt that St. Clement drafted the letter, his name does not appear in it. The opening salutation begins thus: 'The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth.' Such an opening could not have headed the letter, unless St. Clement had submitted the draft at least to the Roman Presbytery,2 perhaps to a general meeting of the whole Roman Church. We know from the letter itself (cap. xliv.) that there were at that time presbyters at Corinth, who had been appointed by the Apostles; and the same was no doubt also true in regard to some of the presbyters at Rome. Consequently the facts stated in the letter about the Apostles' actions and teaching are guaranteed to us as true not only by St. Clement but by other men of age and experience, who had been selected by the Apostles as being worthy of being promoted to the sacred ministry.

The occasion, which called forth the writing of this letter, is thus set forth in summary form by Dr. Hamilton:

'The Corinthian Church,' he says, 'had obtained a wide reputation for harmony, peace and good works. Unfortunately this happy state of affairs did not continue, but was interrupted by a serious disturbance, led by a few "headstrong and self-

called 'bishops'; but that would have been much too lowly a title for them in the First century, when the terms 'bishop' and 'presbyter' were equivalent. The term 'Apostolic president' seems to describe them well enough.

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, *De Praescript. Haereticorum*, cap. xxxii. 'apostolici seminis traduces.'

<sup>2</sup> Compare the opening salutation of St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which begins thus: 'Polycarp and the presbyters with him to the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi.'

willed persons," which resulted in the removal of certain elders from their office and the introduction of others into their places.'

The news of this disturbance reached the Roman Church in some way or other. I hardly think that Dr. Hamilton is right in his suggestion that the Corinthian Church 'asked for the advice of the Roman Church' about this matter. The Roman Church speaks distinctly in the letter (cap. xlvii.) of their having heard of the disturbance in consequence of a 'report' having 'reached' them; and they make no allusion to any communication having been sent to them by the Church of Corinth. It was customary in those early days of the Church for Christian Bishops and their presbyters to send advice and even remonstrance to sister Churches, when the circumstances seemed to call for such action. <sup>2</sup>

The purpose of the whole Epistle, which contains sixty-five chapters, is to persuade the Corinthian Church to restore to their office the presbyters who have been wrongfully thrust out from their ministration. The pith of the argument is contained in the five chapters, xl. to xliv. inclusive. Of these the last is the most important for us, on account of the light which it throws on the matters which we are considering. But, before we deal with that forty-fourth chapter, it will be well to quote some passages from the preceding chapters. In the fortieth chapter the Roman Church says:

'We ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master (ὁ δεσπότης) has commanded to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations (τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας) He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons [or hours, ἄραις]. And where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself fixed by His supreme will: that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure might be acceptable to His will. They therefore

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hamilton, op. cit. ii. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23), and see Batiffol (*L'Église Naissante*, 5me édit. 1911, pp. 196, 201).

that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong.'

Hitherto the reference has been to the offerings and ministrations which form the principal part of the public worship of the Church under the new covenant. Then, as Lightfoot points out, there follows 'an instance from the old dispensation,' which is 'adduced to shew that God will have His ministrations performed through definite persons. . . . It is an argument from analogy.' Then in the forty-first chapter the letter goes on to say: 'Let each of you, brethren, in his own order, give thanks (εὐχαριστείτω) unto God, maintaining a good conscience, and not transgressing the appointed rule of His service, but acting with all seemliness.' Lightfoot expressed his opinion that the reference in this passage is chiefly, though not solely, to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The general meaning is that presbyters, deacons, and lay people have each their own appointed part to carry out, when the Eucharistic services are being celebrated, and that the subordinate orders must not intrude into the ministries reserved for the higher orders. The letter goes on to point out that, under the old law, those who do anything contrary to certain sacrificial regulations sanctioned by God will be punished with the penalty of death; and, applying the lesson to be deduced from this enactment to the Corinthian Christians, it says: 'Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed unto us, so much the more are we exposed to danger.' Naturally, St. Clement and his Roman presbyters, having been trained by St. Peter and St. Paul, realized vividly the awful danger of un-commissioned persons intruding without authority into the administration and celebration of the sacramental rites of the new and better covenant of Christ.

Lightfoot summarizes the first part of the forty-second Chapter thus: 'The Apostles were sent by Christ, as Christ was sent by the Father. Having this commission they preached the kingdom of God.' The letter continues thus:

'So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops <sup>1</sup> and deacons unto them that should believe . . . And what marvel, if they, which were entrusted in Christ with such a work by God, appointed the aforesaid persons (τοὺς προειρημένους)' sc. to be bishops and deacons? Then follows the account of how Moses vindicated the office of the priesthood by placing the rods of the twelve tribes within the tabernacle, and, when on the morrow the doors were opened, it appeared that Aaron's rod alone had budded.<sup>2</sup>

And so we come to the important forty-fourth chapter, most of which must be transcribed. It begins thus:

'And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons (τοὺς προειρημένους), and afterward they gave an additional law (ἐπινομὴν ἐδώκασιν Α, legem dederunt L)  $^3$  to the effect that, if they  $^4$  should fall asleep (ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν), other approved men should succeed to their ministration (διαδέξωνται ἔτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὖτῶν). Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute (ἢ μεταξὲν ὑφ'

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that in this letter the term 'bishop' is used, as it is used by St. Paul, to mean the same as the term 'presbyter.'

<sup>2</sup> This account is set forth at some length, and occupies the greater part of the forty-third chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Turner (*Studies*, p. 253), speaking of cod. L, which contains the Old Latin translation of the Epistle, says: 'In any combination with A it is almost certain to be right.' For the conjunction of the terms 'dare' and 'legem,' and of the corresponding Greek terms, see St. John vii. 19 and compare St. John i. 17.

<sup>4</sup> It seems to me to have been very unfortunate that Bishop Lightfoot, in his translation of this passage, should have used the word 'these' instead of 'they.' It may conceivably be a true gloss; but it is a gloss and not a translation. It practically amounts to inserting the word οἶτοι between ϵὰν and κοιμηθῶσιν in the text. If the word 'these' was to be inserted at all, it should have been printed in italics, to indicate that there was nothing corresponding with it in the text.

έτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν) with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered (καὶ λειτουργήσαντας) unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out from the bishop's office those who have unblameably and holily offered the Gifts.'

Speaking of the argument running through these five central chapters of the Epistle, Dr. Hamilton says:

'There is here a clear, consistent, and forcible line of argument. God has appointed all divine worship according to a definite order: and in the order appointed by His will, Christ is from God, the Apostles are from Christ, the presbyters are from the Apostles, and therefore their ejection is a sin. But if St. Clement contemplated a class of presbyters who might be described as not from the Apostles, the whole sequence of the argument is destroyed: still more if St. Clement had thought that the Corinthians would be able to point to a regular class of presbyters in any part of the world, who were not from the Apostles, then he must have realized that his argument from the divine order and sequence could carry no weight. Further, the individuals who usurped the position of the ousted presbyters had apparently the authority of the Corinthian Church behind them, but not that of the Apostles; this however does not suffice to place them on a level with the older presbyters. St. Clement is not content that the ejected elders should be restored and given a place by the side of those whom the local Church has instituted: the usurpers must submit and withdraw entirely (capp. liv. and lvii.). And if we ask why, the reason given is because the new arrangement is not in accordance with the order appointed by the will of God, which involves a sequence through Christ and the Apostles. Hence it is clear that the innovators are regarded as being in rebellion against divinely appointed authority, because they had no Apostolic sanction. . . We must conclude that St. Clement had no idea of a third class

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to see that Funk translates this last clause in the same way that I have translated it. His version runs thus: 'Non enim leve erit peccatum nostrum, si eos, qui sancte et sine reprehensione munera obtulerunt, episcopatu eicimus.'

of presbyters  $^1$  not on the direct line of Apostolic descent, and that the  $\tilde{\epsilon}_{\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota}$   $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\delta\gamma\iota\mu\sigma\iota$   $\tilde{a}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon$ s included no persons who were not empowered according to the further injunction [i.e. the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\nu\sigma\mu\dot{\eta}]$  of the Apostles, to ordain elders. Sound criticism will recognize that we have here evidence of the highest historical value. . . . This letter has the value of contemporary evidence on the question of appointment of clergy by Apostles.'  $^2$ 

I have quoted the whole of this long passage, because the conclusions seem to me to follow without any doubt from the whole trend of St. Clement's line of argument, and they are well expressed; although I am not quite satisfied with Dr. Hamilton's interpretation of one or two of the expressions in the Clementine letter. He has unfortunately accepted Lightfoot's insertion of the word 'these' before  $\kappa o\iota\mu\eta\theta\hat{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$ , and this insertion seriously modifies what I believe to have been St. Clement's meaning, and makes the connexion between the argument and the conclusion derived from it less clear and forcible than it would otherwise have been.

I would invite the reader to study carefully the forty-fourth chapter of the Epistle. St. Clement, or rather the Roman Church headed by St. Clement, says that 'our Apostles' knew by revelation that there would be strife over the bishop's, that is the presbyter's, office. And it was partly with the view of minimizing or wholly warding off this strife, that the Apostles did two things: (1) They appointed their first converts in every place, where they preached, to be presbyters and deacons; and (2) at a later date they promulgated an additional law, in order that,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The other two classes being (1) those appointed by the Apostles, and (2) those who at a later date were appointed by other ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hamilton, op. cit. ii. 133, 134. 
<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 78 n. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Perhaps by the expression, 'our Apostles,' the Roman Church means here its own Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who were also recognized at Corinth as the Apostolic planters of the Corinthian Church, as St. Dionysius of Corinth mentions (*circa* 170) in his Epistle to Pope Soter (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25). If this view is not accepted, the reference must be to all the great Apostles.

if [i.e. when] 1 they should fall asleep, other approved men might succeed to their ministration. There were of course other reasons why the Apostles should be the ordainers of the first set of clergy, but here St. Clement for the purposes of his argument emphasizes the minimizing or avoidance of strife. So long as the Apostles were in full vigour, they could, either by personal visits or by giving a commission to apostolic delegates like Titus, establish or keep up, by ordination, the supply of clergy; but the question would arise What is to be done when the Apostles die? With a view to that event they gave directions which would secure that after their death other approved persons should succeed to their ministry as ordainers and chief rulers. The ἐπινομή, or additional law, must have provided for the election, approval and ordination of these successors to the Apostles, thus securing an arrangement which would tend to keep off strife. Presumably, these successors would for a time be of two sorts, namely (1) apostolic evangelists such as Timothy and Titus and perhaps Artemas and Tychicus and Crescens and others, and (2) apostolic presidents of churches such as Linus of Rome, and possibly Evodius of Antioch, and any others who may have been appointed. A generation later, when St. Clement and his presbyters wrote the Epistle to the Corinthian Church, the presbyters at Rome and Corinth were also of two sorts, namely (I) those who had been ordained by Apostles or under commission from them, and (2) those who, since their death, had been ordained by the ελλόγιμοι ἄνδρες, the successors of the Apostles. It is to be noted that the Clementine Epistle in dealing with this matter contemplates four categories of persons: (1) Apostles; (2) Presbyters ordained by Apostles; (3) Successors of Apostles (ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες); (4) Presbyters ordained by Successors of Apostles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For  $\epsilon \hat{a} \nu$  in the sense of 'when,' see Tob. iv.  $3-\epsilon \hat{a} \nu$   $a \pi o \theta a \nu \omega$ ,  $\theta a \psi o \nu \mu \epsilon$ , and compare St. John xii. 32; xiv. 3; I St. John ii. 28; iii. 2. If anyone should insist on the element of uncertainty, which very frequently enters into the meaning of  $\epsilon a \nu$ , it may be pointed out that the Apostles never knew whether our Lord's second coming would not take place before their death.

There were two sets of ordainers and two sets of ordained. All these four sets of persons had been appointed to a ministry (λειτουργία), though the two sets of ordainers had a higher *leitoupyla* than the two sets of ordained. Again, the ordained needed to be approved before they were ordained; and a fortiori the ordainers, the ελλόγιμοι äνδρες, who were to succeed the Apostles, would need still more to be approved before they could be consecrated to their higher and more responsible office. Bishop Lightfoot, without sufficient reason, as I humbly think, identifies the third category with the second. He apparently supposes that at some time or other the Apostles gave to all apostolically ordained presbyters the power to ordain others. From the point of view of the doctrine of the apostolical succession, I have no objection to this theory. My objection is purely from the point of view of history. I see not the slightest trace of presbyters exercising this power either during the Apostles' lifetime or afterwards. On the contrary, I find that the directions given to Timothy at Ephesus presuppose that the Ephesian presbyters did not possess this power. And if all presbyters had been given this power by the Apostles, I find it difficult to believe that the Apostolic arrangement could have been changed in later times without a good deal of friction, of which there seems to be no trace. Dr. Lindsay himself, who of course believes that the Apostolic arrangement was changed in later times, admits that this change 'was effected peacefully, and we hear of no disturbances in consequence.' 1 It should be added that he regards the providing of a Bishop, such as St. Ignatius describes, to preside over the presbytery. as a change which was 'simple, natural, and salutary.' 2

I cannot think of any better words to sum up my own view of what is the right interpretation of this forty-fourth chapter of the Clementine Epistle, than the words used by Mr. Turner in his summary of the most important part of that same chapter. Mr. Turner says:

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry, 4th edit. p. 169. 2 Lindsay, ut supra.

'In St. Clement's Epistle to Corinth (r Clem. xliv.) we meet with a class unnamed, who intervene between the Apostles and the local ministry of episcopi or presbyters, who are ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες, "men of repute," who after the Apostles' death, in their place and with their power, appoint (subject to the consent of the Church) to the presbyteral office.' <sup>1</sup>

If Bishop Lightfoot's interpretation is correct, we have at first local presbyteries with very little authority, under the jurisdiction of an Apostle who rules with practically autocratic power. Then, after the death of the Apostles, we have presbyteries, under no superior authority, with full powers of government. And then, in the early part of the Second century, St. Ignatius describes the presbyteries, of which he had knowledge, as being under the monarchical rule of the single bishop. Moreover, at some point during the first of these periods, the presbyters received from the Apostles (in consequence of their ἐπιμονή ² or, as the better reading has it—ἐπινομή) power to ordain, which power was again taken away from them in the

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Turner, article on 'The Early Christian Ministry and the Didache,' which appeared in the Church Quarterly Review for April 1887 (vol. xxiv. p. 139), and has been republished in Mr. Turner's Studies (edit. 1912, p. 28). Bishop John Wordsworth seems to me to understand Clement as meaning that the δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες succeed (διαδέξωνται) the Apostles, and are not, as Lightfoot supposes, the successors of the προειρημένοι, that is to say—of the before-mentioned presbyters and deacons. Speaking of the numerous bishoprics in Asia Minor, Africa, and South Italy, and of the relatively small number of bishoprics in North Italy, in the Fourth century, Bishop Wordsworth (The Ministry of Grace, p. 145) says: 'But whether they are few or many, all these Bishops are considered to be successors of the Apostles. This succession is no new idea, but one that comes to us from Clement of Rome in the first century (Ad Cor. 44, διαδέξωνται), through Hegesippus and Irenaeus (iii. 3) in the second, and Hippolytus and Cyprian n the third (Epp. 45, 66 &c.), to name only the most prominent authorities who speak of it.'

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot adopted without manuscript authority the reading <sup>2</sup>πιμονή. He died before the discovery of the Old Latin version

which confirms the reading in Cod. A.

course of the Second century. It would seem to me that very clear historical evidence would have to be produced before such a theory can be admitted. And, so far as I know, no such evidence is producible.

Unless I am wholly mistaken, the Clementine Epistle bears witness to a state of things in the Church of the First century, which is in complete harmony with our Lord's revelation of His will that the Apostolical office, which He created and empowered, should be perpetuated in the Church until His Return in glory. It is also in complete harmony with the practice of the Apostolic Church from the First century to the present time.

No doubt it must be admitted that, during the first eighty years of the Second century, the evidence about the organization of the Church is not so plentiful as we might wish it to be. But, so far as I am aware, there is nothing out of harmony with that which clearly was in existence both before the beginning of that period and after its close. As Dr. Salmon very truly says:

'Immediately after the Apostolic times Church history, as it were, passes through a tunnel. There is bright light on the history as long as we have the New Testament to guide us, and there is bright light again when we come down to the copious Christian literature, which began to be plentiful towards the end of the second century. But there is a comparatively dark intervening period, of which we have but few records. . . . It is a great convenience to ingenious speculators to be unchecked by documentary evidence, and accordingly the attempt has been made to form a theory of Church government by disregarding the periods concerning which the evidence is copious and attending only to that dark period where the scantiness of the evidence puts little restraint on conjecture. But it is a common experience with those who grope in dark chambers to come out covered with cobwebs, and I fear that no more complimentary epithet can be applied to speculations in which the best part of the evidence is systematically set aside. . . . When the Church comes out of the tunnel, of which I spoke, into the full light of history, we find bishops ruling everywhere, and no one having the least suspicion that since the Apostles' times any other form of Church government had prevailed. Two things lead me to think that they were not wrong in their belief. If the original form of government had been different, I cannot think that a change would have been universal, or that it could be silent.' 1

## VII

During what may be called the tunnel-period of Church history, the two most illuminating testimonies are (1) the Clementine Epistle, and (2) the Epistles of St. Ignatius and the Epistle of St. Polycarp, which may be treated as one group; and of these the Clementine Epistle is by far the most important for our purpose, because it emphasizes the idea of persons being appointed to succeed the Apostles; and the succession, which it emphasizes, is a succession which depends on a commission derived directly or ultimately from the Apostles. In saying this I have in mind the interesting discussion of the various meanings, which may be attached to the term Apostolic Succession, in the second part of Dr. Headlam's article on Apostolic Succession.2 Dr. Headlam enumerates four meanings, and they are these: (1) Succession as Orderly Sequence; (2) Succession as Apostolic Commission; (3) Succession as Continuity of Function; (4) Succession as Transmitting Grace. Now. for myself, I should suppose that all four of these ideas coalesce in the true Scriptural and Catholic teaching about Apostolic Succession. As might be expected, different writers lay stress on different aspects of the truth, according to the exigencies of the argument which each one may be pursuing, when he has occasion to refer to the Succession. The idea of orderly sequence in single Churches is a perfectly true idea; but taken by itself, it has nothing to do with Apostolic Succession except in Apostolic Churches, in the restricted sense of that term. St. Irenaeus, in his controversy with the Gnostics, appeals with great force to the tradition of the Apostolic Churches at Rome, Smyrna,

<sup>2</sup> Harford and Stevenson's *Prayer-Book Dictionary*, edit. 1912, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. George Salmon, Sermon on 'The Historic Claims of Episcopacy,' edit. 1907, pp. 15-19.

Ephesus, and at other places which he does not name; and he declares that he is 'able to enumerate those whom the Apostles appointed to be bishops in the Churches, and their successors [or successions] quite down to his own time.' 1 As Dr. Headlam, summarizing St. Irenaeus' argument, says: 'Officials duly appointed had succeeded one another openly in the same Church, and this was a guarantee of the due succession of true doctrine and apostolic custom.' 'But,' as Dr. Headlam rightly adds, 'it is not possible to believe that this [orderly sequence] was all he [Irenaeus] meant. They [the bishops] are not only the successors of the Apostles, but with the succession they have received the charisma veritatis.' 2 In regard to this statement I would observe that this charisma was one element of the gift which was imparted to them, when they were ordained or consecrated to the episcopate by the laying on of hands; and if this charisma belongs, as it does, to the full idea of apostolic succession, it must have been transmitted to them from the Apostles by an uninterrupted line of ordinations. All bishops in the Apostolic Succession and in the communion of the Church, whether their sees are Apostolic or not, receive at and by their ordination this charisma, which helps them to fulfil aright their great function of guarding the deposit of the faith. So St. Paul says to Timothy, whom he had consecrated by the laying on of hands: 'O Timothy, guard the deposit.'3 'Stir up the charisma of God which is in thee through the laying on of my hands.' 4 'Guard the good deposit through the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.' 5

As we have seen, the Clementine Epistle dwells entirely on the Apostolic Succession as founded on Apostolic Commission; while St. Irenaeus combines the two ideas, orderly sequence and Apostolic commission. Thus in the two earliest patristic writers who deal with the succession

<sup>1</sup> St. Iren. adv. Haer. III. iii. 1.

<sup>4 2</sup> Tim. i. 6. 5 2 Tim. i. 14.

the first two ideas mentioned by Dr. Headlam are emphasized, the second of these two ideas, which is perhaps the most fundamental idea of all, occupying the whole field in an Epistle drawn up by the immediate disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The third idea of Apostolic Succession mentioned by Dr. Headlam is 'Succession as Continuity of Function.' The bishops who succeed the Apostles 'have,' as Dr. Headlam says, 'performed the [ordinary] functions of the Apostles in the Church since the Apostolic age.' 1 This follows from the fact that our Lord willed that the Apostolate should be perpetuated until He comes again. But, as the Apostles would have had no power to perform Apostolic functions if they had not been consecrated and commissioned by our Lord, so their successors could have had no power to exercise those same functions and to transmit them if they had not been consecrated and commissioned by the Apostles or by their duly commissioned successors. In other words, the third idea is only rendered possible by the due carrying out of the fundamental second idea, the idea of succession as founded on Apostolic commission.

Lastly, we come to the fourth idea of Apostolic Succession mentioned by Dr. Headlam, namely 'Succession as Transmitting Grace.' He explains this idea in the following words:

'The Apostles gave the Holy Spirit to the bishops they ordained, and they have handed it on in the Church ever since. It is through bishops and bishops only that the Holy Spirit is given. This is the meaning which is generally attached to Apostolical Succession at the present time, and the form in which it is always attacked by its opponents.'

I can quite believe that this is the form in which the idea of transmission is attacked by opponents of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession; and I must believe that, as Dr. Headlam says that this is the meaning which is generally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. Headlam is, I think, explaining here the views of those who hold the idea of succession as Continuity of Function rather than expressing his own view.

attached to Apostolical Succession at the present time, he must have come across it in the writings of our modern Anglican divines, who have carried on the traditions of the Catholic Church at large and of our great post-Reformation Anglican theologians in particular, by upholding the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. But I am bound to say that, though I have, I think, a fair acquaintance with post-Reformation Anglican theology, including very specially what may be called Tractarian theology, I have never in my life come across any single statement of the doctrine which could be twisted into the notion that 'it is through bishops only that the Holy Spirit is given.' Moreover, I have never heard any sermon in which such a doctrine was preached; and I have never come across any person who expressed such a view in conversation. Of late. I have taken the opportunity of cross-questioning my friends, especially my clerical friends, on this matter, and

I find that their experience is the same as my own.

But while I repudiate with horror the idea that the Holy Spirit is given through bishops only, I most entirely believe that, according to the ordinary laws of God's kingdom, the grace of Orders is given by bishops only, namely when they ordain, and that the Pentecostal gift of the personal indwelling of the Paraclete is given by bishops, and, where the Church allows it, by presbyters, when they confirm. But as, after Pentecost, Christ, our enthroned Lord, was, without the intervention of any bishop, continually imparting to the Apostles and others, who had been in the Upper Room, in response to their prayers, public or private, vocal or mental, conscious or unconscious, ever larger measures of the Presence of the Holy Ghost, and very specially did He do this when, hungering and thirsting, they came to feed at the Altar on His Body and Blood. so He has been doing the same through all the ages of the · Church's history to those who since Pentecost have received the indwelling Presence of the Spirit through confirmation, and have afterwards sought in similar ways for a larger measure of it. And quite apart from His first solemn entry through confirmation and the subsequent

enlargement of the measure of His personal indwelling, the Holy Ghost is perpetually operating in manifold ways, both sacramental and non-sacramental, on the baptized, and by prevenient grace also on vast multitudes of the un-baptized.

Let us go on now to consider the use of the word 'Transmission,' to describe the fulfilment by consecrating bishops of all the human conditions which have been regarded since Apostolic times as necessary for the validity of an ordination. Not until those conditions have been fulfilled have we any sure warrant for believing that Christ will impart the supernatural gift of grace which will make the person who is being consecrated to be a successor of the Apostles. I cannot think that the use of that word is at all peculiar to modern Anglican theology. The word is old, and the idea underlying the word has been accepted in the Catholic Church 'ubique, semper, et ab omnibus.' Both word and idea seem to me to be present in one of the earlier treatises of Tertullian, written about the year 200,1 when he was still a Catholic. In his De Praescriptione Haereticorum,<sup>2</sup> he challenges heretics to produce the records of the origins of their several Churches, and to shew that their first bishop had for his ordainer and predecessor one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men who continued in fellowship with the Apostles. 'For,' he says, 'in this manner do the Apostolic Churches reckon their origins.' Then, as examples, he mentions Polycarp at Smyrna appointed by St. John, and St. Clement at Rome appointed by St. Peter; and he adds: 'Just so do the other (Churches) bring forward the names of those, who having been appointed by Apostles to the episcopate, are regarded by them as transmitters of the Apostolic seed.' <sup>3</sup>

I might proceed to quote passages from St. Pacian 4 and

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xxxii., Opp. edit. Oehler, ii. 29, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Monceaux, Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne, edit. 1901, vol. i. p. 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'Perinde utique et ceterae exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. St. Pacian. Ep. i. ad Sympronianum, cap. vi., P.L. xiii. 1057.

from Ambrosiaster <sup>1</sup>; but, contenting myself with giving references to these, I shall go on at once to St. Ambrose. He is answering the Novatian objection to the Church's claim to absolve sinners who repent, and he says: 'Impossibile videbatur per poenitentiam peccata dimitti. Concessit hoc Christus Apostolis suis, quod ab Apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est.' <sup>2</sup>

Of course passages like these set forth the earthly side of sacramental acts, which have not only an earthly but also a heavenly side. Exactly similar language is used by the Fathers about Confirmation and Holy Communion. They say that the bishops 'tradunt Spiritum Sanctum,' 3' or they say that bishops and priests by consecrating the Holy Eucharist 'conficiunt corpus Christi'; while at the same time none of them doubt that it is God who, in response to the prayer of the duly ordained minister, whether bishop or priest, sends down the Holy Ghost to impart the grace of Orders, or to come and dwell in the person who is being confirmed, or to consecrate the bread and wine so that they may become the Body and Blood of our Lord.

For example, St. Ambrose, who in the previously quoted passage states so strongly that the power of remitting sins has been transmitted from the Apostles to the Bishops, states in other passages just as strongly that, while the Bishop ministerially remits sins, it is God who is the principal Agent. Thus in his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, having quoted our Lord's words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit they are remitted,' St. Ambrose says: 'Men

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Ambrosiast. Quaestiones Vet. et Nov. Test., qu. cx. n. 7, edit. Souter (Vindobon. 1908), Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. tom. l. p. 274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Ambros. De Poenit. lib. ii. cap. ii., P.L. xvi. 499.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The expressions 'tradere Spiritum Sanctum,' or 'dare Spiritum Sanctum,' or 'vestire Spiritu Sancto,' or 'tradere septiformem Spiritus Sancti gratiam,' etc. are used of the ministers of Confirmation by Tertullian, St. Hippolytus, St. Pacian, St. Jerome, St. Siricius, St. Chrysostom, Pope Innocent I, St. Leo, and the Gelasian Sacramentary, and by many other Fathers and Councils.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. St. Hieronym. Ep. xiv. ad Heliodorum, n. 8, Epistulae edit. Hilberg (Vindobon. 1910), Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. liv. 55; et P.L. xxii. 352.

ask, God grants; for the ministerial act is human, the bountiful outpouring is the work of the Divine Power.' 1 One might go on quoting endlessly in illustration of the fact that the Fathers have a twofold way of speaking, according as reference is primarily made to the heavenly or to the earthly side of acts in which heaven and earth have each their necessary share.<sup>2</sup>

This patristic twofold mode of speech passed on, as might be expected, to the Schoolmen. It will be enough to quote St. Thomas Aquinas. He is discussing the question, 'whether God alone operates within the soul for the production of the effect of a sacrament'; and in his general reply he says:

'I answer that it must be said that to operate so as to bring about a certain effect takes place in two ways: in one way according to the method proper to the principal agent; in the other way according to the method proper to an instrument. According to the first way therefore God alone operates the interior effect of a sacrament, first because God alone flows into the soul, in which the sacrament takes effect; . . . secondly because grace, which is the inward effect of the sacrament, comes from God only. . . . But according to the second way man can operate to produce the inward effect of the sacrament, in so far as he operates as the minister of the sacrament (per modum ministri). For a minister and an instrument belong to the same category (Nam eadem ratio est ministri et instrumenti)'.3

Bishop Stubbs, a master of mediaeval lore, in the second of his Oxford Visitation Charges, a charge which was delivered in April and May 1893, said: 'Up to the period of the Reformation there was no other idea of episcopacy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> St. Ambros. *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. cap. 18, *P.L.* xvi. 808, 809. 'Isti [sc. homines] rogant, divinitas donat; humanum enim obsequium, sed munificentia supernae est potestatis.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Epiphanius (*Panarium*, Haer. lxxv. cap. iv., *P.G.* xlii. 508) compares Ordination to the begetting of children. In both cases God intervenes in a special way, but He makes His intervention dependent in some sense on the voluntary acts of human beings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas (Summ. Theol. III. lxiv. i.).

except that of transmission of Apostolic commission.' 1 Since the Reformation Archbishop Cranmer, <sup>2</sup> Bishop Pearson,<sup>3</sup> and Bishop Beveridge,<sup>4</sup> and doubtless others, use the noun 'transmission,' or the verb 'to transmit,' when speaking of the derivation of episcopal power by uninterrupted succession from the Apostles. Bishop Horne of Norwich,<sup>5</sup> Bishop Reginald Heber of Calcutta,<sup>6</sup> and Bishop Jebb of Limerick <sup>7</sup> use the parallel words 'derivation' and 'derive.' All these lived and died before the Tractarian movement began. Similarly, not to mention old-fashioned Roman Catholic writers, such as Dom Chardon,<sup>8</sup> the word 'transmission' occurs continually in the works of contemporary writers of the Latin communion such as, Batiffol,<sup>9</sup> Saltet,<sup>10</sup> Michiels,<sup>11</sup> etc.

From what has been said, it will have been gathered that I cannot think that 'the idea of transmission is an additional and late conception' 12; nor can I think that

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, Visitation Charges, p. 191; compare Bp. Gore, Orders

and Unity, edit. 1909, pp. 75, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cranmer, Catechism, edit. Burton, 1829, p. 196, and in the same volume with a fresh pagination Jonas Justus' Latin Catechism, p. 167. Cranmer's Catechism is practically a translation of Jonas Justus'. Where the latter uses 'transmissum,' Cranmer uses 'derived.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pearson, Determinat. Theol. i., in Minor Theological Works,

edit. Churton, vol. i. pp. 283, 284.

- <sup>4</sup> Cf. Beveridge, Sermon on 'Christ's Presence with His Ministers,' quoted above, on p. 55.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. Bishop Horne's Charge at the Primary Visitation of his Diocese, quoted in Tracts for the Times, No. 74, p. 47.
  - <sup>6</sup> Cf. Heber's Sermons in England, No. 12, quoted in Tracts for

the Times, No. 74, p. 53.

- <sup>7</sup> Cf. Jebb's Pastoral Instructions, Discourse i., quoted in Tracts for the Times, No. 74, p. 54.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. Dom Chardon, Histoire des Sacrements, edit. 1745, tome v. p. 358.
  - <sup>9</sup> Cf. Batiffol, Église Naissante, 5me édit., 1911, p. 244, n. 2.
  - Cf. Saltet, Réordinations, pp. 7, 118, 125, 151, 152.
     Cf. Michiels, L'Origine de l'Épiscopat, pp. 91, 386, 387.
- <sup>12</sup> Headlam, article on 'Apostolic Succession,' col. 16 (Prayer-Book Dictionary, p. 42). I take this opportunity of mentioning that it was at Dr. Headlam's own generous request that I undertook to write this article, and to discuss in it his criticisms on the idea of 'Succession as Transmitting Grace.'

that idea, as understood by the Fathers and divines who used it, is in any sort of way a mechanical idea, unless all sacraments are mechanical. Nor do I think that the grace of Orders 'depends upon the authority of the Church'; but rather on a ministerially transmitted power, derived by uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, who received it from our Lord. Where that can be shewn to exist, the Church is bound to recognize it, though for sufficient cause she may suspend the ordained person from exercising the order which he has received.

Here I perceive that, though there is much more which ought to be said, I must bring this article to an end. My remaining words shall therefore be few. I have never seen any proof, which carried conviction, that the Church has at any time recognized the validity of Orders conferred by presbyters. I am well aware of certain attempts to prove that this recognition has been granted in a very few exceptional cases, but on examination the proofs appear to break down.1 I believe with the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, that is to say, the Roman Church in the First century, that God has revealed His will in this matter; and I believe that the Church has faithfully adhered in her practice to that revelation of the Divine will. Of course I do not dream of judging those who are without; nor do I dream of putting any limits to God's mercy, or to His power of making His grace overflow the normal channels which His wisdom has created. He, the sovereign Master and loving Father, can do what He will with His own; but His Church has no such power. It is for her to obey in all humility, as in this matter at any rate she has hitherto

¹ As I cannot deal with this and other kindred matters in this article, I would refer readers of it to Bishop Gore's *Ministry of the Christian Church*, edit. 1889, pp. 137–144, 357–363, 370–383, and to his contribution to the *Journal of Theological Studies*, iii. 278–282. I would refer them also to Mr. Turner's article on the 'Organization of the Church' (*Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 160, 161) and to Dr. Hamilton, *The People of God*, ii. 159–161, and 232–235. On the question whether those Prophets, who were neither Bishops nor presbyters, ever celebrated the Holy Eucharist, see Hamilton, *op. cit.* ii. 220–232.

obeyed. It would indeed be an awful punishment for our sins, if, after preserving the sacred succession amid the confusions of the Reformation, and under the tyranny of the Commonwealth, and during the dead times of the Eighteenth century, the Church of England were now in days of revived hope and vigour to despise her birthright, and from a desire to promote an external re-union, for which neither we nor our separated brethren are at present ready, should offer to recognize the validity of ministries created, not by Christ the King but by un-commissioned men.

Bishop Pearson in his day said with great truth:

'If we once admit a diversity in our ordinations, we have lost the honour of succession, we have cast away our weapons of defence, we have betrayed our own cause, and laid ourselves open to the common enemy of all protestants, and we shall at last inevitably fall into the Socinian doctrine, to deny all necessity or use of any mission or ordination.' 1

Bishop Gore, speaking on September 28, 1910, at the Cambridge Church Congress, said:

'I should like to begin by laying down something which appears to me to be absolutely certain as regards the unity of our Communion, and for which I should ask for the assent of persons who might wish it otherwise, quite as much as of those who believe it to be right. The proposition I would make is this—that the Anglican Communion would be rent in twain on the day on which any non-episcopally ordained minister was formally allowed, within our Communion, to celebrate the Eucharist; and any Colonial Church of our Communion which recognized in this way the validity of non-episcopal orders would either be disowned by other parts of the Anglican Communion, or, if that were not the case, would cause what I have just described as the division of our Communion at home.' <sup>2</sup>

Dr. Sanday, writing about this pronouncement made by Bishop Gore, said six months later: 'I cannot help

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pearson, 'Letter against Promiscuous Ordinations,' in Minor Theological Works, edit. Churton, 1844, ii. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Cambridge Church Congress, 1910, p. 115.

recognizing the courage and resolute facing of facts which prompted the utterance; neither can I refuse to endorse the Bishop's belief that as a statement of fact what he said is strictly and literally true.' 1

Dr. J. H. Moulton, to whom we all owe so much for the help which he gives us in the interpretation of the New Testament, writing as a Methodist in an article on 'Methodism in Catholic Unity,' has just now said:

'Perhaps I ought to add in all candour that our friends in the Church of England who are eager for Home Reunion must not waste their energy in these days on schemes of outward union. Such appeals will produce absolutely no response on our side. We do not want the Church of England to spoil its own Church machinery in order to accommodate some features of ours ' 2

That seems to me to be very wise counsel.

F. W. PULLER, S.S.I.E.

95

## ART. IV.—JANE AUSTEN.

- I. Jane Austen: Her Life and Letters. A Family Record. By WILLIAM AUSTEN-LEIGH and RICHARD ARTHUR AUSTEN-LEIGH. (Smith, Elder and Co. 1913.)
- 2. The Novels of Jane Austen. Various editions. And other Works.

In that delightful mine of correspondence which Lockhart has preserved for us in his 'Life of Walter Scott,' we find the following extract from a letter to Joanna Baillie, bearing date February 10, 1822:

'I expect Miss Edgeworth to be just what you describea being totally void of affectation; and who, like one other lady of my acquaintance, carries her literary reputation as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Contemporary Review for April 1911, p. 405. <sup>2</sup> The Constructive Quarterly for June 1913, vol. i. p. 395.

freely and easily as the milkmaid in my country does the leglen, which she carries on her head, and walks as gracefully with it as a duchess. Some of the fair sex, and some of the foul sex, too, carry their renown on a yoke and a pair of pitchers. The consequence is, that, besides poking frightfully, they are hitting everyone on the shins with their buckets. . . By the way, did you know Miss Austen, authoress of some novels which have a great deal of nature in them?—nature in ordinary and middle life, to be sure, but valuable from its strong resemblance and correct drawing. I wonder which way she carried her pail?'

Had Scott lived a century later, he would have been able to answer his own question by referring to the delightful volume before us, which is due to the affection and industry of two living members of Jane Austen's family. The writers confess that much of their material has already appeared in print; but they might also claim with truth that this is the most complete presentment of their distinguished kinswoman which has ever been given to the world. No pains have been spared to make the arrangement of letters and biography as lucid and readable as possible. Some very interesting information is given as to the history of Iane Austen's brothers, and other members of her circle: there is a carefully compiled bibliography, and a fairly good index; and on the whole we may anticipate that the present work will constitute for posterity the life par excellence of the foremost woman-novelist of Great Britain.

If the saying 'Happy is the nation which has no history!' could ever have been applied to an individual, that individual might well have been Jane Austen. The charming little girl with the brilliant eyes, whom we see reproduced in the most recent of her biographies, with bare neck and arms, and with the old-fashioned parasol in her hand, seems to carry a suggestion of bright leisurely English summer days in the garden of a country parsonage; there is a joie de vivre about her which seems to come from within, and to be—to a great extent—independent of circumstances. When we read her life, we find that it

is as nearly lacking in incident as it is possible for that of an educated woman to be. Her migrations, if not exactly from 'the blue bed to the brown,' are from one country home to another, or from thence to Bath, or London, or Winchester, and so forth. Her interests are almost entirely those of her own family, except those which arise later out of the publication and reception of her works, and the books she herself reads. She was a bright. clever girl of thirteen when the trial of Warren Hastings. with whom her paternal aunt Mrs. Hancock and her family were intimately connected, took place; but we find no trace of it in her writings. The god-daughter of Hastings, her own first cousin Eliza Hancock. was married to the Comte de Feuillide, who was one of the victims of the guillotine; but here again it would be hard to find any allusion in Jane Austen's writings to the French Revolution. Nelson was in his full career of glory during her grown-up life; but, to judge from 'Mansfield Park' and elsewhere, service in the navy was looked upon to a great extent in connexion with the prospect of prize money, although we must not forget the beautiful tribute to the profession at the close of her last published work 'Persuasion.' 'How horrible it is to have so many people killed! And what a blessing that one cares for none of them!' is her comment, apparently on the battle of Albuera, 'the most bloodthirsty incident in the whole Peninsular war.' There is a striking reference to the death of Nelson in one of her brother's letters, but all she herself finds to say about the hero is apropos of Southey's 'Life.' 'I am tired of Lives of Nelson; being that I never read any. I will read this, however, if Frank is mentioned in it.' One or two rather problematical love-affairs, and a sad episode in the life of her sister Cassandra, doubtless help to give reality to her delineations of Emma, of Fanny Price, and above all of Anne Elliot. The flattering notice of George IV when Prince Regent, the growing popularity of her books, all just seem to point to future fame, when in the very maturity of her powers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jane Austen. A Family Record, p. 283.

a somewhat inexplicable illness attacks her and she dies before she has attained the age of forty-two.

Yet this uneventful existence has left us a legacy which the English nation prizes, and seems likely to prize, more and more as years go on. What, we may ask, is the secret of Jane Austen's abiding popularity?

Her exquisite, delicate humour, the freshness, sureness and crispness of her touch, her power of character-drawing, her perfect refinement, her very considerable skill (developing as she herself developed) in the construction of a plot, the finish of her portraiture, have been often praised, from the days of Walter Scott 1 to our own; and it would seem needless to repeat what has been so well said already. But perhaps, as we get further from Jane Austen's own day, we recognize another merit in her works which could not have been equally evident to her contemporaries. The period of 'the Regency' is for most of us a synonym for tawdriness, bad taste, bad language, a drowsy Church life,2 a low moral tone in high quarters, and that bitter spirit of criticism and discontent among the working classes which broke loose at last in riots and machinesmashing, and which we may see pictured in George Eliot's

It is good for us to be reminded that the real strength of England lay in the quiet country homes such as Jane Austen depicts, where the religion, simple as it seems, was genuine, real and absolutely without 'pose' or selfconsciousness, where there was an unquestioning belief in the essentials of the Christian faith, and where, we

See Quarterly Review article by him, October 1815. The second article on Miss Austen, which Lockhart was tempted to ascribe to Scott (Quarterly Review, January 1821) was, as he afterwards found

from the pen of Whately, the future Archbishop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We are told that when Jane's brother Henry took Orders, rather late in life, and had been endeavouring, in preparation, to study the New Testament in the original, he went to be examined by the Bishop, who, after asking him some questions, put his hand on a book which lay near him on the table, and which happened to be a Greek Testament, and said: 'As for this book, Mr. Austen, I dare say it is some years since either you or I looked into it' (p. 333).

may add, the boys were brought up to behave as gentlemen, and the girls as ladies, as a matter of course.

There was a steadiness about life in those days, an acceptance of certain fundamental truths and social axioms, which helped to form most valuable characters, and to train men and women to live in the world, to judge rightly, and to act decidedly in emergencies, and to make the English character what we have hitherto been proud to see it.

The present biographers of Jane Austen have done well to draw attention to the fact—characteristic of her class and generation—that she was always quietly caring for the poor. As they say:

'She was of course quite ignorant of the conditions of life in the great towns, and she had but little money to give, but work, teaching, and sympathy were freely bestowed on rustic neighbours. A very good criterion of her attitude towards her own characters is often furnished by their relations with the poor around them. Instances of this may be found in Darcy's care of his tenants and servants, in Anne Elliot's farewell visits to nearly all the inhabitants of Kellynch, and in Emma's benevolence and good sense when assisting her poorer neighbours.'

In the same way, though the religious life of the period was most undemonstrative, it was, or could be, deeply real and sincere. The few allusions to religion in Jane Austen's books (as in those of her great contemporary Walter Scott) abundantly prove this. We may quote here a letter, included in the present biography, to a niece who is contemplating marriage:

'Mr. A. has advantages which we do not often meet in one person. His only fault, indeed, seems modesty. . . . . And, as to there being any objection from his goodness, from the danger of his becoming even evangelical, I cannot admit that. I am by no means convinced that we ought not all to be evangelicals, and am at least persuaded that they who are so from reason and feeling must be happiest and safest.' 2

At the close of her next letter she says (evidently in reply to her correspondent):

'I cannot suppose we differ in our ideas of the Christian religion. You have given an excellent description of it. We only affix a different meaning to the word *evangelical*.'

These letters were written in 1814, about three years before her death. A characteristic shrinking from notoriety is thus illustrated (September 25, 1813). Speaking of her brother's zeal in spreading her fame, she says:

'I know it is all done from affection and partiality, but at the same time let me here again express to you and Mary my sense of the *superior* kindness which you have shown on the occasion in doing what I wished. I am trying to harden myself. After all, what a trifle it is, in all its bearings, to the really important points of one's existence, even in this world.' 1

We who live in these days when 'problems' of all kinds are calling out for solution, and the very Creed of our forefathers is being attacked and questioned, find comfort in returning even in imagination to the days of the early Nineteenth century, before these fierce controversies had arisen, and to the simple, dutiful, straightforward, and unpretending characters of those men and women whose blood runs in our own veins, and on whose 'reserves' of moral and spiritual, as well as of physical, force we are living our own strenuous, over-excited, and, too often, superficial lives.

Apart, however, from these higher matters, there is a considerable interest in Jane Austen's works as offering pictures of English life before the days of railways, chloroform, and electricity. After all, the homes of our forefathers were by no means devoid of comfort. Wages were less, and they had relatively more servants. In 'Sense and Sensibility,' Mrs. Dashwood (a lady of limited means) is dining alone with her daughters, and they are waited on by a manservant and have wine and dessert. A fire in one's bedroom, lit before one rises in the morning, is a luxury which few guests would now expect, except in

illness.¹ Wine was a good deal more drunk than it would be now. When Fanny Price turns faint after a hot walk, her considerate cousin Edmund goes to the side table and pours her out a glass of madeira (we notice the absence of soda or seltzer water, luxuries not so common then as now). Breakfasts were pretty solid. We recall the cold pork bones and mustard in William's plate, and the broken egg shells in Mr. Crawford's, in 'Mansfield Park.'² But except a tray of sandwiches or some equally light refreshment there was no further feeding till dinner at about four, or possibly five, in the afternoon.

This gave space for a long evening, for protracted sittings over wine and walnuts, followed by tea and various games, whist, speculation, brag, and others, or by music and singing, etc. Tea was made and poured out by the young lady of the house. Lady Bertram ('Mansfield Park') seems to have been incapable of performing even this slight duty for herself. Apparently no one ever thought of doing anything from dinner till bedtime. Mr. Elton, the clergyman in 'Emma,' was haunted when dining at Randalls by no uneasy sense of unfulfilled duties in the way of evening classes or lectures.

One of Mr. Elton's most characteristic speeches is when he finds himself driving *tête-à-tête* with Emma:

'What an excellent device [said he] the use of a sheep-skin for carriages! How very comfortable they make it: impossible to feel cold with such precautions. The contrivances of modern days, indeed, have rendered a gentleman's carriage perfectly complete. One is so fenced and guarded from the weather that not a breath of air can find its way in unpermitted... Ha! snows a little, I see.'

While on the subject of carriages it may be remarked that while the stage coach was the cheapest, and sometimes the only possible, mode of locomotion, those who could afford it travelled by post-chaise. Thus, in 'Sense and Sensibility' Mrs. Jennings sends her maid by coach, and travels post with the two young ladies, and the Misses Steel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Sense and Sensibility, chap. xxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chap. xxix.

economize by getting 'the Doctor' to share a post-chaise with them. No one will ever forget the Sucklings' barouchelandau as eulogized by Mrs. Elton. The men of the party often rode (e.g. Edmund in 'Mansfield Park,' chap. viii) beside the carriage (e.g. Henry Crawford's barouche) which contained the ladies, and so we find Jane Austen's own brother Henry 'kindly attending' her 'on horseback, riding in the rain nearly all the way,' from Chawton to Winchester 1 ('Memoirs,' p. 390). Frank Churchill rides from Highbury to London and back; and Mr. Knightley is pretty constantly on horseback, while even the timid Fanny Price is obliged to learn to ride. John Thorpe's curricle has been immortalized in 'Northanger Abbey,' as well as General Tilney's chaise and four.<sup>2</sup>

'The bustle of going was not pleasant. The clock struck ten while the trunks were carrying down, and the General had fixed to be out of Milsom Street by that hour. His great coat, instead of being brought down for him to put on directly, was spread out in the curricle in which he was to accompany his son. The middle seat of the chaise was not drawn out, though there were three people to go in it; and his daughter's maid had so crowded it with parcels that Miss Morland would not have room to sit . . . and she had some difficulty in saving her own new writing-desk from being thrown out into the street. At last, however, the door was closed upon the three females. and they set off at the sober pace in which the handsome, highlyfed four horses of a gentleman usually perform a journey of thirty miles. . . The tediousness of a two hours' bait at Petty France . . . next followed; and her admiration of the style in which they travelled, of the fashionable chaise and four, postillions handsomely liveried, rising so regularly in their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In September 1813, she thus describes a family move. 'My brother, Fanny, Lizzie, Marianne and I composed this division of the family and filled his carriage inside and out. Two post-chaises, under the escort of George, conveyed eight more across the country, the chair brought two, two others came on horseback, and the rest by coach, and so, by one means or another, we are all removed. It puts me in mind of St. Paul's shipwreck, when all are said, by different means, to reach the shore in safety' (p. 279).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chap. xx.

stirrups, and numerous outriders, properly mounted, sunk a little under this consequent inconvenience.'

After a while the General resigns his place in the curricle to her, to her great delight.

'The merits of the curricle did not all belong to the horses. Henry drove so well, so quietly, without making any disturbance, without parading to her, or swearing at them!... and then his hat sat so well! and the innumerable capes of his great coat looked so becomingly important! To be driven by him, next to dancing with him, was certainly the greatest happiness in the world.'

From this description one would hardly gather that Henry Tilney was a clergyman!

Perhaps 'Northanger Abbey' throws more light than any other of Jane Austen's books on the comfort and civilization which existed in England a hundred years ago. One little incident,² that of Catherine being awakened 'by the housemaid's folding back her shutters' in the morning, reminds us of a feature which has almost disappeared from modern houses. The appointments of General Tilney's house (Northanger Abbey) give a very good idea of the luxuries of our forefathers.

'The elegance of the breakfast-set forced itself on Catherine's notice . . . and, luckily, it had been the General's own choice. He was enchanted by her approbation of his taste, confessed it to be neat and simple, thought it right to encourage the manufacture of his country; and for his part, to his uncritical palate, the tea was as well-flavoured from the clay of Staffordshire as from that of Dresden or Sèvres.'

In the course of Catherine's visit she is introduced to 'a village of hothouses' and the General talks about 'the pinery which only yielded a hundred last year.' The kitchen (originally monastic) is 'rich in the massy walls and smoke of former days, and in the stoves and hot closets of the present. . . . Wherever they went, some pattened girl stopped to courtesy, or some footman in dishabille

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chap. xxii.

sneaked off.' 1 By the way, does anyone wear pattens now? They were common enough fifty years ago. The late Mrs. Tilney's bedroom is surreptitiously visited by Catherine; and we are told, 2

'She saw a large, well-proportioned apartment, a handsome dimity bed, arranged with a housemaid's care, a bright Bath-stove, mahogany wardrobes, and neatly-painted chairs, on which the beams of a western sun gaily poured through two sash windows.'

Perhaps some of our readers may know exactly what is meant by a Bath-stove, and also what are the characteristics of a 'Rumford,' referred to at the close of chapter xx, as a substitute for a more ancient fireplace. Apparently General Tilney's hothouses were intended chiefly for fruit, for the only flower which excites Catherine's admiration is a hyacinth, which is not very extraordinary in the month of April! It will be remembered that in 'Mansfield Park' Fanny Price cherishes her pet geraniums in the East room and that Mrs. Grant has some 'plants,' apparently myrtles, about which she is solicitous.4 But probably among our more modern luxuries we may count an abundance of flowers at nearly all seasons of the year; new varieties of the old ones, and others which were till recently unknown. Many of us are old enough to remember the rise and progress of the chrysanthemum; and also the time when bananas, which are now within the reach of the poorest, were only to be seen as rarities. The mention of flowers naturally suggests poetry and literature. When we think of Scott's enormous field of reading, and his wonderful memory for what he read, we are tempted to agree with Jane Austen's estimate of herself that she was 'the most unlearned and uninformed female who ever dared to be an authoress.'5

In 'Persuasion,' Jane Austen's last and most touching novel, we are introduced to a poetical Captain Benwick, with whom Anne Elliot has literary discussions,

'trying to ascertain whether "Marmion" or "The Lady of the Lake" were to be preferred, and how ranked "The Giaour"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. xxiii. <sup>2</sup> Chap. xxiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chap. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Memoirs, p. 320.

and "The Bride of Abydos," and moreover, how the *Giaour* was to be pronounced, he showed himself so intimately acquainted with all the tenderest songs of the one poet, and all the impassioned descriptions of hopeless agony of the other; he repeated, with such tremulous feeling, the various lines which imaged a broken heart, or a mind destroyed by wretchedness, and looked so entirely as if he meant to be understood, that she ventured to hope he did not always read only poetry. . . and to recommend a larger allowance of prose in his daily study.' 1

We find Benwick quoting Lord Byron's 'dark blue seas' again in chapter xii, and he and Louisa Musgrove are supposed to have 'fallen in love with one another over poetry.' 2

Nor is the early Eighteenth century quite overlooked, for does not Mrs. Elton quote Gray's 'Elegy,' and is not 'Kitty a fair but frozen maid,' which poor Mr. Woodhouse strove so hard to remember, from the pen of David Garrick?

That Jane had Shakespeare at her fingers' ends is plain from countless passages both in her books and letters. We find 'Hamlet' read aloud in 'Sense and Sensibility' and 'Henry VIII' in 'Mansfield Park.' But to collect all the allusions to Shakespeare would be impossible, within our present limits.

Her admiration for Crabbe was so great that she always professed she would gladly have become 'Mrs. Crabbe,' and we see his name occurs in 'Mansfield Park' where Edmund looks at Fanny's books, and says

'You in the meanwhile will be taking a trip into China, I suppose. How does Lord Macartney go on? (opening a volume on the table, and then taking up some others). And here are Crabbe's "Tales," and the "Idler," to relieve you, if you tire of your great book.'

Fanny herself quotes Cowper's 'Task' ('The Sofa') 4:

'Ye fallen avenues, once more I mourn Your fate unmerited,'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chap. xviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chap. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. vi.

and so does Emma, apropos of Jane Fairfax and her difficulties,

'The world is not their [friend], nor the world's law.'

'With what intense desire [she] wants [her] home 'in 'Mansfield Park' is from Cowper's 'Tirocinium,' and the passage about 'Cowper and his fire '1 at twilight 'Myself creating what I saw,' is also alluded to ('Emma,' chap. xli).<sup>2</sup>

Jane Austen was evidently fresh from the study of 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' when she wrote 'Mansfield Park,' for at the end of chapter xxviii we find Fanny Price at a hint from Sir Thomas slipping quietly from the empty ball-room, 'stopping at the entrance-door, like the Lady of Branxholm Hall "one moment and no more" to view the happy scene, and take a last look at the five or six determined couple, who were still hard at work'; and in the scene, interesting on other grounds, in the private chapel at Sotherton (chap. ix), we find a reference to the moonlight scene in Melrose Abbey in the same poem.

"I am disappointed," said she, in a low voice to Edmund. "This is not my idea of a chapel. There is nothing awful here, nothing melancholy, nothing grand. Here are no aisles, no arches, no inscriptions, no banners. No banners, cousin, to be 'blown by the night wind of heaven.' No signs that a 'Scottish monarch sleeps below.'"... Mrs. Rushworth began her relation. "This chapel was fitted up as you see it in James II's time. Before that period, as I understand, the pews were only wainscot, and there is some reason to think that the linings and cushions of the pulpit and family seat were only of purple cloth; but this is not quite certain. It

<sup>1</sup> Cowper's Task, 'The Winter Evening.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Sense and Sensibility (chap. x) 'Cowper and Scott' are bracketed as two leading poets; and in chap. xvii some one says of Marianne and her love of expense 'And books! Thomson, Cowper, Scott—she would buy them all over and over again . . . and she would have every book that tells her how to admire an old twisted tree.'

Is this a hit at Wordsworth's 'Thorn'?

107

is a handsome chapel, and was formerly in constant use both morning and evening. Prayers were always read in it by the domestic chaplain, within the memory of many: but the late Mr. Rushworth left it off."

"Every generation has its improvements," said Miss Crawford, with a smile, to Edmund. . . . "It is a pity," cried Fanny, "that the custom should have been discontinued. It was a valuable part of former times. There is something in a chapel and chaplain so much in character with a great house, with one's ideas of what such a household should be! A whole family assembling regularly for the purpose of prayer is fine."

" Very fine indeed," said Miss Crawford, laughing. "It must do the heads of the family a great deal of good to force all the poor housemaids and footmen to leave business and pleasure. and say their prayers here twice a day, while they are inventing

excuses themselves for staying away."

"That is hardly Fanny's idea of a family assembling," said Edmund. "If the master and mistress do not attend themselves,

there must be more harm than good in the custom."

"At any rate, it is safer to leave people to their own devices on such subjects. . . . Cannot you imagine with what unwilling feelings the former belles of the house of Rushworth did many a time repair to this chapel? The young Mrs. Eleanors and Mrs. Bridgets, starched up into seeming piety, but with heads full of something very different—especially if the poor chaplain were not worth looking at-and, in those days, I fancy parsons were very inferior even to what they are now."

'For a few moments she was unanswered. Fanny coloured and looked at Edmund, but felt too angry for speech; and he needed a little recollection before he could say "Your lively mind can hardly be serious even on serious subjects. You have given us an amusing sketch, and human nature cannot say it was not so. We must all feel at times the difficulty of fixing our thoughts as we could wish; but if you are supposing it a frequent thing, that is to say, a weakness grown into habit from neglect, what could be expected from the private devotions of such persons? . . . The mind which does not struggle against itself under one circumstance would find objects to distract it in the other, I believe, and the influence of the place and of example may often rouse better feelings than are begun with. The greater length of the service, however, I admit to be sometimes too hard a stretch upon the mind. One wishes it were not so; but I have not yet left Oxford long enough to forget what chapel prayers are.'

The passage just quoted is a good example of Jane Austen's more serious style; but does not, of course, do justice to her strong sense of humour. As has often, however, been said, the humour is so delicate and so interpenetrative that it is difficult to give examples of it in extracts; and her writings are so well known that it would be almost waste of time to attempt it. But we feel sure that our readers will thank us for advising them to turn once more to the description of the ball at the 'Crown' and to countless other passages in 'Emma,' to Miss Crawford's letter in 'Mansfield Park,' or that of Isabella Thorpe in 'Northanger Abbey,' to the brilliant scene between Captain Wentworth, Mrs. Croft, and Mrs. Musgrove in the latter's drawing-room in 'Persuasion,' to the figures of Mr. Collins and Lady Catherine in 'Pride and Prejudice,' or the dialogue between Mrs. Norris and Sir Thomas in 'Mansfield Park.' The list might be greatly lengthened. But perhaps it would be more profitable to inquire into the circumstances to which—in part at least—this characteristic seems to be due. The present writer has long cherished a theory that there is a kind of English humour which often, if not always, goes hand-in-hand with conservatism. It seems to be the product of an orderly, comfortable state of society where a 'fierce indignation' is almost entirely lacking. To the well-born, well-bred, prosperous Englishman innovations of all kinds are as absurd as they were to Aristophanes and his admirers. We see this copiously illustrated in the 'Anti-Jacobin' and in our beloved 'Punch,' where the humour is seldom, if ever, bitter, but unsparingly directed against innovations of all kinds, from bloomerism to the suffragette movement. Jane Austen's humour was seldom roused by innovations, for the simple reason that they hardly ever came in her way, but she has the happy temperament which finds entertainment in trifles, and the little quaintnesses and absurdities of domestic life.

Throughout her novels or her correspondence we never find a religious enthusiast or a would-be prophet. She does not, we think, once mention the 'Lake' school of poetry. but there are hints here and there that they would have found little mercy at her hands had she done so. The people she lives amongst are all 'nice.' Again, though she is unsparing in her ridicule of vulgarity, even her vulgar people all wear kid gloves. One feels sure she never knew what it was to be destitute of small comforts and proprieties. She had never 'roughed' it. She could no more have created Sam Weller than she could Bill Sikes. Yet there is a fineness about her humour for which we possibly might find a parallel in the days of Madame de Sévigné, but hardly anywhere else among her predecessors : although it may be believed that, had Cowper not come under the unfortunate influences that he did, and had his mental health not been impaired, he might have produced work of an equally brilliant kind. As it is, we find traces of delightful humour both in his poems and his letters. There was a great affinity between the two minds, but the mens sana in corpore sano was Jane Austen's especial privilege.

We cull a few extracts at random from her letters, when she is most thoroughly at her ease, and not dreaming

of publicity.

## To Martha Lloyd.

Nov. 12, 1800.

'You distress me cruelly by your request about books. I cannot think of any to bring with me, nor have I any idea of our wanting them. I come to you to be talked to, not to read or hear reading; I can do that at home; and indeed I am now laying in a stock of intelligence to pour out on you as my share of the conversation. I am reading Henry's History of England, which I will repeat to you in any manner you may prefer, either in a loose, desultory, unconnected stream, or dividing my recital, as the historian divides it himself, into seven parts:—The Civil and Military: Religion: Constitution: Learning and Learned Men: Arts and Sciences: Commerce, Coins, and Shipping: and Manners. So that for every evening in the week

there will be a different subject. The Friday's lot—Commerce, Coins, and Shipping—you will find the least entertaining; but the next evening's portion will make amends. With such a provision on my part, if you will do yours by repeating the French Grammar, and Mrs. Stent will now and then ejaculate some wonder about the cocks and hens, what can we want? <sup>1</sup>

#### To Cassandra Austen.

Feb. 8, 1807.

'Our garden is putting in order by a man who bears a remarkably good character, has a very fine complexion, and asks something less than the first... We mean to get a few of the better kind [of roses], and at my own particular desire he procures us some syringas. I could not do without a syringa, for the sake of Cowper's line. We talk also of a laburnum....

'What is become of all the shyness in the world? Moral as well as natural diseases disappear in the progress of time, and new ones take their place. Shyness and the sweating sickness have given way to confidence and paralytic complaints.' <sup>3</sup>

#### To the Same.

Jan. 24, 1809.

'I am gratified by [Fanny's] having pleasure in what I write, but I wish the knowledge of my being exposed to her discerning criticism may not hurt my style, by inducing too great a solicitude. I begin already to weigh my words and sentences more than I did, and am looking about for a sentiment, an illustration, or a metaphor in every corner of the room. Could my ideas flow as fast as the rain in the store closet it would be charming' 4

## To the Same.

March 2, 1814.

'My poor old muslin has never been dyed yet. It has been promised to be done several times. What wicked people dyers are. They begin with dipping their own souls in scarlet sin. . .

<sup>1</sup> Jane Austen, pp. 149-50.

4 P. 227.

In streaming gold; Syringa, ivory pure.'

³ Pp. 199–200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See The Task, 'The Winter Walk at Noon,' lines 149-50: 'Laburnum rich

Henry is going on with Mansfield Park. He admires H. Craw ford: I mean properly, as a clever, pleasant man. I tell you all the good I can, as I know how much you will enjoy it.' 1

#### To the Same.

Dec. 2, 1815.

'I am sorry my mother has been suffering, and am afraid this exquisite weather is too good to agree with her. I enjoy it all over me, from top to toe, from right to left, longitudinally, perpendicularly, diagonally; and I cannot but selfishly hope we are to have it last till Christmas—nice, unwholesome, unseasonable, relaxing, close, muggy weather.' <sup>2</sup>

One one occasion we think she is a little hard on Mrs. D.— apropos of the 'Rejected Addresses' 3:

'I began talking to her a little about them, and expressed my hope of their having amused her. Her answer was "Oh dear, yes, very much, very droll indeed—the opening of the House and the striking up of the fiddles!" What she meant, poor woman, who shall say? I sought no farther.'

Surely Jane must have forgotten the brilliant parody on her favourite, Crabbe, part of which we venture to reproduce.

'See to their desks Apollo's sons repair-Swift rides the rosin o'er the horse's hair. In unison their various tones to tune, Murmurs the hautboy, growls the hoarse bassoon; In soft vibration sighs the whispering lute, Tang goes the harpsichord, too-too the flute. Brays the loud trumpet, squeaks the fiddle sharp, Winds the French horn, and twangs the tingling harp; Till, like great Jove, the leader, figuring in, Attunes to order the chaotic din. Now all seems hushed-but no, one fiddle will Give, half-ashamed, a tiny flourish still. Foiled in his crash, the leader of the clan Reproves with frowns the dilatory man: Then on his candlestick thrice taps his bow, Nods a new signal, and away they go.' 'Rejected Addresses,' No. xvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 293.

But there is no end to these delightful extracts, nor have we space to insert some others of a graver character, especially those relating to the death of her brother's wife, which are written with a depth and delicacy of feeling which shew that had Jane Austen been destitute of a spark of the genius which has made her immortal she would still have been one of the best and most loveable of women. We seem to be allowed to see her character growing, from that enjoyment of life and sheer playfulness which it early displayed, to one of greater maturity and earnestness, while the humour mellows and sweetens to the last. 'I do not suppose she ever in her life said a sharp thing,' was the verdict of one of her nieces.<sup>2</sup>

We can only refer in passing to the touching account of her death given by her devoted sister Cassandra. We love to think of her last hours, passed within sound of the Cathedral chimes, in the little house, still standing, which no pilgrim to Winchester should forget to visit, and that the glorious building which she loved so well should afford a resting-place for all that mortality could claim of

so beautiful a nature.

It has so happened that a considerable portion of this article has been written at Leatherhead, a place which has to our minds—the strongest possible claim to be identified with Highbury (in 'Emma'). The claims of Leatherhead have been thoroughly discussed in the volume before us. The similarity of many local and personal names; the distance from London, the general character of the place. the fact that Jane Austen knew the neighbourhood intimately, all seem to point the same way: it is still 'airy, cheerful, and happy-looking,' and has many nooks and corners which one can fancy those bright hazel eyesa characteristic which Jane Austen and her heroine had in common—gazing on with keen powers of observation. Happily for Jane Austen, and still more happily for Emma, she could never have been there, as it was our lot to be, on a Bank Holiday, with a constant succession of motors and other traffic making the day hideous. One could see the

shadowy, shuddering form of old Mr. Woodhouse gazing in horror at it all from an upper window! Such an experience makes us feel how the world has changed and is changing, But human nature alters very little, whether it surveys the world from a 'motor-car' or a 'barouche-landau.' And so long as human nature remains what it is, the works of Jane Austen will never be out of date.

The old church, the picturesque churchyard in which it stands, can have altered but little since her time: the chiming clock may have told the hours as faithfully in her lifetime as it does now, and as we stand beneath the tower we think admiringly not only of the brilliant genius which has shed its light on the place, but of the beautiful and truly womanly soul which clung, alike in life and death, to the faith of a Christian, and of the warm loving heart which shewed itself, not only in her works, but in her whole being.

E. WORDSWORTH.

# ART. V.—THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- I. Bible Studies. By Adolf Deissmann, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1901.)
- 2. Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World. By Adolf Deissmann, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin. Translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.)
- 3. A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. I. Prolegomena. By J. H. MOULTON, D.Litt., Professor of Hellenistic Greek in the University of Manchester. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1908.)
- 4. Cambridge Biblical Essays. 'New Testament Greek.'
  By J. H. MOULTON, D.Litt. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1909.)

- 5. St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. By G. MILLIGAN, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1908.)
- 6. Notes from the Papyri. By J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN. Papers in The Expositor, 1901-1912. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)
- 7. Lexicon of New Testament Greek. By C. L. W. GRIMM. Edited by J. H. THAYER, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1909.)
- 8. The New Testament Documents: their Origin and Early History. By G. MILLIGAN, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1912.)

#### · T

THE study of the language of the New Testament has brought into existence a considerable body of literature composed mainly of Grammars and Dictionaries which have, in their turn, exercised a powerful influence upon all works connected with its exegesis. Down to the very close of the Nineteenth century the whole of this literature was based on the theory that the Greek of the New Testament, to use the words of Blass, one of the most eminent workers in this particular field, 'was something peculiar, a language obeying its own laws.' New Testament Greek had then come to be regarded as a deviation from the main stream of the history of the development of the language as a whole, and there was assigned to it a position of isolation as a separate linguistic unity which, having no parallel in the known Greek of the period, demanded special treatment and a literature all its own. It was manifestly different from the literary Greek of the age, which was practically the only means of comparison available, and of which abundant examples have been preserved in the works of Polybius, Plutarch, Arrian, Lucian and others, and it had little in common even with the language of Hellenistic Jews like Philo and Josephus. Explanations of this marked difference were sought for in various directions. First of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, p. 62.

all it was assumed that the peculiar language of the New Testament was largely due to the influence of the Septuagint, which is essentially 'translation Greek' and demonstrates throughout the effects of the Hebrew original, both in grammar and style. As considerable portions of the New Testament documents are translations, not so much from Hebrew as from Aramaic, it was inferred that many of its linguistic idiosyncrasies were to be explained on the lines of the Greek of the Septuagint. Then again it was argued that many of the New Testament writers were Jews to whom Greek was to all intents and purposes a foreign language, and that in consequence their thought and style were governed by their Aramaic upbringing and surroundings even when they employed Greek.

Finally the idea of a special New Testament Greek was supported by the theory of 'mechanical inspiration,' which encouraged the notion that it was in accordance with the fitness of things that the sacred Scriptures should be produced in a language free from profanation by contact with secular writings, which might well be entitled 'the language of the Holy Ghost.' The language of the New Testament was for centuries then relegated to a position of dignified isolation, and was regarded as a separate linguistic unit under

the name of 'New Testament Greek.'

The last decade of the Nineteenth century, however, witnessed the dawn of a new movement which bids fair to revolutionize all previous conceptions of the true place of New Testament Greek in the history of language, with the result that much of the literature that has concerned itself with the linguistic interpretation of the New Testament has become obsolete and out of date. Much of the credit for this new movement must be placed to the account of Professor Adolf Deissmann of Berlin, but the signal services of Dr. Moulton and Dr. Milligan in the same field must not pass unnoticed. Chief among the factors at the root of this movement was the recent discovery of fresh and relevant evidence in great quantity in the shape of inscriptions, papyri, and ostraka. The acquisition of this new material was also followed by what was of even greater importance in

connexion with our subject, viz. the discovery of its significance. Inscriptions and papyri in considerable numbers had been collected during the earlier decades of the last century, but they lay neglected and forgotten in the British Museum, and in the principal museums on the Continent. A great impulse was, however, given to the study of this available material by the formation of societies for the purposes of exploration and archaeological survey, and by the labours of individuals in the same direction, by means of which the already existing collections were considerably enriched by the addition of Hellenistic inscriptions from Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Among these individuals Sir W. M. Ramsay, who has done pioneer work of the greatest value in discovering and deciphering Hellenistic inscriptions illustrating a comparatively low grade of culture in Asia Minor, deserves special recognition.

More important than the inscriptions was the perfect wealth of material unearthed from the tombs and rubbish heaps of Egypt in the shape of thousands of papyri and ostraka (broken pieces of crockery covered with writing). Here again British enterprise and scholarship were to the fore in the persons of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, whose names will be always remembered in connexion with the famous Logia or 'Sayings of Jesus' recovered from the ruins of Oxyrhynchus. This abundant store has now been subjected to wide and careful research, the results of which are manifest in such works as those of the Egypt Exploration Society and in the great collections of papyri from Berlin, Vienna. Paris, and America. Meanwhile a great German savant, Wilcken, published over 1500 short writings deciphered from Greek ostraka, collected from the museums of London, Paris, and Rome. The value of the material thus collected is not confined to its quantity. It is equally noteworthy for its variety. Among it was a lost treatise of Aristotle and the work of some minor Greek poets, Bacchylides and Herodas all of a literary character.<sup>2</sup> But it was the non-

<sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Moulton, Grammar of New Testament Greek, p. 3.

literary material thus brought to light that was destined to prove of prime importance in connexion with the history of the Greek language, and of this, under the separate headings of papyri, inscriptions, and ostraka, it is necessary to give a short description.

(I) Papyri.—Among the papyri there have been discovered documents illustrating every phase and department of daily life among the subjects of the Roman Empire. They were principally recovered from the ruins of cities and villages of Upper Egypt, and a few only were discovered elsewhere, as e.g. at Herculaneum.

They cover in round numbers a period of a thousand years, and date from 311 B.C. to the Seventh century A.D. In their variety they have been aptly compared to the contents of waste-paper baskets from a lawyer's office, a school, a farm, a shop, and an official government residence.<sup>1</sup>

Among them are included:

(a) Legal documents, such as wills, law reports, marriage settlements, contracts, and receipts.

(b) Official documents, as e.g. census returns, official

orders, and petitions.

- (c) Private letters of every kind and description, illustrating all grades of social rank, education, and culture among the writers.
- (2) Inscriptions.—These cover a wide tract of country, representing Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Here the Greek is of a higher character on the whole than that of the papyri. This is only natural when we realize that the inscriptions were meant to defy the assaults of time, whereas the papyri were intended for the needs of the moment only. To quote Dr. Moulton: 'In the inscriptions the Greek is in its best clothes; in the papyri it is in corduroys.' <sup>2</sup>
- (3) OSTRAKA.—The ostraka, or potsherds, were the writing material of the very poor. They cost nothing, and could be picked up freely from the rubbish heap attached to the nearest rich man's house. Their contents, as may be imagined, are often of the homeliest description, but they are by no means the least valuable portion of the

<sup>1</sup> Moulton, op. cit. p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Moulton, op. cit. p. 28.

new material, inasmuch as they proceed from the lowest grade of society, and enable us to picture the life of the peasant under the Empire, for which we had practically no evidence available before.

Such, then, was the new material provided by recent research, but its significance in connexion with the study of New Testament Greek still remained to be discovered.

That this was eventually done was entirely due to the insight of Professor Deissmann, who in 1895 began to issue a series of volumes the influence of which upon the prevailing conceptions with regard to the language of the New Testament has been well-nigh incalculable. The main result of Deissmann's discovery was to demonstrate that the language in which the New Testament was written, far from being the isolated, unique linguistic unit with which all previous study had made us familiar, was simply the ordinary vernacular Greek spoken in the Graeco-Roman

divisions of the Empire at that period.

Hellenistic Greek of the literary type was already known to us in the works of the writers that we have referred to at the beginning of this article, and the colloquial Greek of the cultured class was not altogether unknown. The Greek that the simple unlearned people of the Empire used in daily life and business seemed, however, to have entirely disappeared, until the ruins of Egypt gave up their treasures, and revealed that language in all its variety in the multitude of papyri and ostraka thence unearthed. The Hellenistic Greek of which we had anything like adequate knowledge, viz. that of the man of culture and of the writer, had, through the influence of Alexander's conquests and of Alexander's army, been moulded into one common language, practically free from all the dialectical differences of the Greek of the classical period and diffused throughout all the eastern provinces of the Empire. This tongue we were familiar with under the name of 'Koine' or 'common Greek.' Our knowledge of the real Greek 'Koine' was, however, manifestly deficient, and it was only completed through the recent discoveries, which have added to the two types of 'Koine' already available a third, viz. the

non-literary language used by the mass of the people in ordinary daily life. Reference has already been made to the freedom of the literary 'Koinē' of the period from the dialectical distinctions which in the age of classical Greek separated Attic from Ionic, and Ionic from Doric. The new texts afford the most ample evidence that this may also be affirmed of the non-literary vernacular Greek of this period. A comparison of the inscriptions of Asia Minor. e.g. with the papyri of Egypt, gives a language which is practically homogeneous, so that a traveller acquainted with this ordinary Greek could make himself understood without any difficulty throughout the length and breadth of the Graeco-Roman division of the Empire. What the English language is in the British Empire of to-day may be asserted with practical certainty of the Greek 'Koine' in the greater part of the Roman world of that day.

The most interesting and fascinating features of the new material are undoubtedly contained in the letters, a few examples of which, selected from the ample store found in Deissmann's volumes, are appended here in an

English translation.

1. Letter from Demophon, a wealthy Egyptian, to Ptolemaeus, a police official, circa 245 B.C.

'Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Send us by all means the piper Petoys with both the Phrygian pipes and the others. And if it is necessary to spend anything, pay it. Thou shalt receive it from us. And send us also Zenobius the effeminate, with tabret, and cymbals, and rattles. For the women have need of him at the sacrifice. And let him have also raiment as fair as may be. And fetch also the kid from Aristion and send it to us.

'Yea, and if thou hast taken the slave, deliver him to Semphtheus that he may bring him to us. And send us also cheeses as many as thou canst, and new earthenware, and herbs of every kind, and delicacies if thou hast any.

'Farewell.

'Put them on board and guards with them who will help in bringing the boat over.' 1

Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, pp. 150-1.

This letter gives us a glimpse of the domestic life of a well-to-do family. The father writes to a friend to ensure his assistance in making the necessary preparations for an approaching festival, by ordering musicians, food, and crockery for him in the city. We note also the reference to the runaway slave.

2. Letter from Nearchus to Heliodorus (First or Second

century A.D., papyrus from Egypt).

'Nearchus . . . (to Heliodorus) . . . . greeting. Since many . . . even unto taking ship, that they may learn about the works made by men's hands, I have done after this sort and undertook a voyage up and came to Soene and there whence the Nile flows out, and to Libya, where Ammon sings oracles to all men, and I learnt goodly things, and I carved the names of my friends on the temples for a perpetual memory, the intercession . . .' <sup>1</sup> (Two lines washed out.)

A little fragment of a travel letter and therefore interesting to the historian of civilization. The reference to the prayer for his friends in the temple and to his inscribing their names on the temple walls, as if to make the intercession permanent, throws an important light upon the religious spirit of the age.

3. Letter from Irene, an Egyptian, to a family in mourning (Second century A.D., papyrus from Oxyrhynchus).

'Irene to Taonnophris and Philo, good comfort.

'I was as sorry and wept over the departed one as I wept for Didymas. And all things, whatsoever were fitting, I did, and all mine, Epaphroditus and Thermuthion and Philion and Apollonius and Plantas. But, nevertheless, against such things one can do nothing. Therefore comfort ye one another. Fare ye well. Athyr r.' (28th October.) <sup>2</sup>

Irene, who has lost a child of her own, writes to her friend Taonnophris who has recently experienced a similar loss. Her own personal sorrow enables her to sympathize to the full with her friend's grief. There is almost a Pauline touch in the words 'Comfort ye one another.'

4. Letter from Theon, an Egyptian boy, to his father

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 162. <sup>2</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 164.

Theon (Second or Third century A.D., papyrus from Oxyrhynchus).

'Theon to Theon his father, greeting. Thou hast done well. Thou hast not carried me with thee to the town. If thou wilt not carry me with thee to Alexandria, I will not write thee a letter, nor speak thee, nor wish thee health. But if thou goest to Alexandria, I will not take hand from thee, nor greet thee again henceforth. If thou wilt not carry me, these things come to pass. My mother also said to Archelaus, "he driveth me mad: away with him." But thou hast done well. Thou hast sent me great gifts—locust beans. They deceived us there on the twelfth day, when thou didst sail. Finally, send for me, I beseech thee. If thou sendest not, I will not eat nor drink. Even so. Fare thee well, I pray. Tybi 18.' (January 13.) 1

A typical schoolboy's letter which speaks for itself. It is written in the language of the streets and the playground. There is no attempt at grammar, and the spelling of the original is atrocious. Incidentally it would seem from this letter that the 'hunger strike' is as old as the Second century A.D.

5. Letter from Pacysis, an Egyptian, to his son (about the Third century A.D., an ostrakon from Thebes).

'Pacysis, the son of Patsebthis, to my son, greeting. Contradict not. Ye have dwelt there with a soldier. But receive him not till I come to you. Farewell.' 2

I have inserted this as an interesting example of the

poor man's letter written on a potsherd.

Now it is manifest from the contents of these few letters not only that the material contained in the papyri and ostraka as a whole is valuable in connexion with the language of the Empire, but that it is hardly of less importance in view of the flood of light it throws upon the social and moral condition of the subjects of Rome at this time. This point may be illustrated in two directions.

First, the life of the larger cities of the Empire was sufficiently well known to us in the classical and historical writers of the period. The new texts have now thrown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. pp. 187-8. <sup>3</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 191.

open a door which had hitherto been closed, and we are in a position to reconstruct a picture of life under the Empire as it existed in the small country towns and villages. Incidentally this is of no little value in the domain of New Testament history, because from the analogy of life in the small towns and villages of Egypt, as it is illustrated in the papyri and ostraka, we are able to depict the surroundings of our Lord and His disciples in Galilee, in small towns like Capernaum and in villages like Nazareth. They take us among peasants, fishermen, soldiers, slaves, artisans, small tradespeople, and officials of a humble grade, i.e. into the midst of the lower and lower middle classes among whom Christianity first found a home. It was undoubtedly these who formed the bulk of the first Christian converts, although they were by no means confined to this class, and numbered among them many of higher rank. The homely potsherds are specially valuable in this connexion because they illustrate the daily life of the poorest and lowliest subjects of the Empire.

Secondly, they lead to a considerable modification of the view generally held as to the moral condition of the heathen world. The impression of the morals of heathen Rome that we derive from contemporary literature, whether sacred or profane, is on the whole dark and unfavourable. Now Deissmann 1 maintains that this impression is not based on reliable sources because our knowledge of the world of that day was confined to one section of it only. the upper and governing classes. The literature at our disposal reflected the opinions and habits of the higher grade of society, and much of our information was derived from the Fathers of the Church, who were frankly polemical. and, from the very nature of the case, prone to exaggeration. The papyri and ostraka, however, testify that among the great masses of the people many were leading useful, hardworking, and dependable lives, and that an intimate family feeling and friendship bound poor people together. Many of the new texts again are of a deeply religious character. and among them may be found epitaphs, prayers and dedi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. pp. 282-3.

cations, private letters with a religious colouring, and amulets. Among the letters none are of greater interest than those which illustrate the life of the individual soul. Some of these letters have already been quoted, as e.g. the letter from Irene to the married couple who had just lost a son, and that from Nearchus, a man on his travels, describing how he had carved his friends' names on sacred places and prayed for them. Most interesting of all in this connexion is a letter from Antonius Longus, a prodigal son, to his mother Nilus 1 expressing deep contrition for his wrongdoing in which the expressions 'I have been chastened,' 'I know that I have sinned' occur. From these we may gather that, whatever the state of morality among the upper and governing classes may have been, among the poorer and humbler folk of the Empire the outlook was not so gloomy, and that in the villages and country districts there was a deep and earnest sense of religion, combined with much that made for decency and order.

## Π

We are now in a position to discuss the relevancy of these discoveries with reference to the Greek of the New Testament. If Deissmann's main contention is accepted, that the Greek of the papyri was the ordinary vernacular Greek of the Empire, his corollary, that we at last possess the very language in which the Apostles and Evangelists wrote and spoke, will not cause much difficulty. The analogy of Egypt, which is proved by the evidence of the papyri unearthed there to have been a bilingual country, enables us to understand the situation in Palestine, where Aramaic was the popular language, but where Greek was also available. The best modern parallel to this state of affairs is found in my own country, the Principality of Wales, in which Welsh is the common vernacular while English is practically within reach of all. That Aramaic was the language which our Lord and His Apostles habitually used is now fairly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 176.

generally acknowledged, but it seems almost equally certain that most of the Apostles, if not all of them, knew Greek. Many authorities of great weight, as e.g. Driver, Sanday, and Zahn, are strongly of opinion that our Lord Himself was able to converse in that language, but Deissmann seems to deny this.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek of the New Testament would then differ but slightly from the universal language of the Eastern Empire, and where differences do occur these are not due to any radical distinction between the Greek which the primitive Christian writers employed and the 'Koinē' of the period, but are to be explained by the special conditions governing their work. Much of the New Testament consists of translation, either from the Old Testament Hebrew or from original Aramaic sources, and it is in this direction that we are to seek for an explanation of its many peculiarities, and not in its organic isolation from the common Greek of the age.

Every scholar conversant with the contents of dictionaries and grammars of New Testament Greek is aware that they were largely concerned with words which were supposed to be peculiar to the New Testament Scriptures, and with grammatical constructions which had no parallel in Hellenistic literary Greek. Many of these words were described as special creations to meet the peculiar needs of a language of religion, while the syntactical idiosyncrasies were generally explained as 'Semitisms' or 'Hebraisms.' The number of 'Biblical' New Testament words, i.e. words only found in the Septuagint or in the New Testament itself, was in a standard work like Dr. Kennedy's Sources of New Testament Greek estimated as being over 550, and the significance of the latest research is manifest when we find it now confidently stated that there are not more than fifty which can be pronounced to be absolutely peculiar to the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> So again many of the strange idioms generally attributed to the influence of Aramaic upon the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann's pronouncement in Light from the Ancient East, p. 57, is ambiguous and depends upon whether the phrase 'did not speak Greek' means 'did not know Greek.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. p. 71.

writers are found to be in fairly common use in the ordinary language of the day, as illustrated by the inscriptions, papyri, and ostraka. A few Semitisms undoubtedly remain, such as the constant use of 'Idou' (=Behold) in the Gospels,¹ but even such apparent solecisms as the use of the instrumental 'En' with the dative ²; the paratactic style of the Fourth Gospel; and the unusual prominence given to the first person in the same Gospel are proved to have been in use, and to have their parallels in the material so recently brought to light.³

- <sup>1</sup> Moulton, Grammar of New Testament Greek, pp. 11-12.
- $^{2}$  Cf. ἐν ῥάβδ $\varphi$ , I Cor. iv. 21.
- <sup>3</sup> Similarly a short selection of words, all of which are classified in the latest edition of Thayer's Grimm as 'Biblical,' but which are now found in the inscriptions and papyri, will serve to illustrate the wholesale change in our conception of the vocabulary of the New Testament which has been brought about by the recent discoveries. δυικός (used with μύλος 'a mill-stone'), ἀφιλάργυρου, a great Christological term like πρωτοτόκος; characteristic Pauline words like συγκληρουόμος, ἀναθεματίζω, ἐπικατάρατος; and others such as ἀρχιποίμην, προσκυνητής, ἐπισυναγωγή and λογεία (a collection, a word formerly supposed to have been coined by St. Paul).

Again, the meaning of words and phrases in the New Testament the exact significance of which it was difficult to determine is elucidated by means of these documents, as e.g.:

- (1) The use of  $d\pi \epsilon \chi \omega$  in St. Matth. vi. 2  $(d\pi \epsilon \chi o \nu \sigma \iota \tau \delta \nu \mu \iota \sigma \theta \delta \nu a \partial \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ : 'they have their reward'), which is found both in the papyri and ostraka, and is a technical term for drawing up a receipt.
  - (2)  $\pi \eta \rho a$  (a scrip or wallet) was a beggar's collecting bag.
- (3) ἀναστροφή, which in classical Greek means simply 'manner of life' without any reference to morals, is in the vernacular of the papyri used in a definitely ethical sense as in the New Testament.
  - (4) ἀδελφός is a member of a community.
- (5) δίδωμι ἐργασίαν (cf. St. Luke xii. 58, δὸς ἐργασίαν 'give diligence'), which is not a latinism, the equivalent of do operam, as described in Thayer's Grimm, but a good Hellenistic expression.
- (6) συναίρω λόγον (cf. συνᾶραι λόγον 'to take account,' St. Matt. xviii. 23) is a technical phrase, and by no means peculiar to the New Testament.
- (7) δεισιδαίμων. This is a word in which I am specially interested, inasmuch as in my book St. Paul the Orator I maintained that it must have been used by St. Paul at Athens in a commendatory

We may also draw attention to the manner in which the social and religious history of the New Testament world is illustrated in the new texts.

The following may be noted as instances of this process.

(a) The enrolment described in St. Luke ii. 3, 'They all went to enroll themselves every one into his own city,' is confirmed by an edict of G. Vibius Maximus, Governor of Egypt, A.D. 104, in which the exact terms 'enrolment by households' and 'to return to their domestic hearths' appear.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The cost of sparrows. Cf. 'Two sparrows sold for a farthing' (St. Matt. x. 29); 'Five sparrows sold for two farthings' (St. Luke xii. 6). The cheapness of sparrows as food, the fact that they were sold in pairs or fives, and their market price as a farthing the pair, are all supported by an extract from

a maximum tariff of Diocletian.2

(c) Popular lists of virtues and vices are often found on counters used in a game resembling draughts. The entire list used by St. Paul. in I Cor. vi. 9, 10, has been found substantially word for word on these counters.<sup>3</sup>

(d) Such details as the unpopularity of publicans, so frequently emphasized in the New Testament, and the value of the tribute (two drachmae St. Matt. xvii. 24) are confirmed by the papyri.

The papyri are perhaps most interesting and most useful because of the way in which they help us to understand the letters of St. Paul. We may refer to words like *stigmata* (Gal. vi. 17), which is explained as a species of tattooing of the worshipper in honour of his god <sup>4</sup>; phrases like 'I call God for a witness' (2 Cor. i. 23), 'I have kept faith' (2 Tim. iv. 7), and 'If any will not work neither let him eat' which Deissmann pronounces to be a bit of good old workshop morality.<sup>5</sup>

sense, as against Bishop Chase's assertion that it was invariably used in the contrary sense. According to Deissmann (op. cit. p. 283), wherever the word is found in the papyri the context implies commendation, i.e. the word has the meaning 'religious' and not 'superstitious.'

Deissmann, op. cit. p. 267. 2 Ibid. pp. 271-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, p. 318.

Again, some of the Pauline legal terms and ideas, such as those connected with slavery and freedom, debt and its forgiveness, and the meaning of such terms as advocate and 'Diathēkē' (which invariably refers to a Will), are explained by Hellenistic popular law as set forth in these documents.

Thus the Greek word 'Lutron' is always associated with the money paid for the manumission of slaves, and St. Paul in expanding and adapting Christ's saying (St. Mark x. 45) to the Greek world was accommodating himself to the intellectual capacity of his hearers. 'Opheilē,' which was supposed to be a strictly New Testament word, is the

current term for 'debt' in the papyri.1

But the most important bond between the papyri and the Pauline literature consists in the manner in which the letters contained in the former enable us to picture the exact form and appearance of St. Paul's own letters. Taking the ordinary papyrus letter as an example we may infer that St. Paul wrote on a papyrus sheet 5 to 5½ inches wide by q to II inches long. One of these sheets would contain a short note like the Epistle to Philemon, but where more than one sheet was required they were joined together at the ends and formed into a long roll. The sheet was covered on one side only with writing arranged in two parallel columns. We know from the Apostle's own statement that he generally dictated his letters, contenting himself with inscribing the final salutation in his own handwriting. This custom is exemplified in many of the papyri letters where the signature is written in a different hand from that of the main body. Even the ink used by the Apostle is known to us both as to its appearance and composition.

The parallels between the Pauline letters and those of the papyri are not confined to the details of shape and appearance, and it will be seen from the specimen letter printed below that the style, plan, and some of the most characteristic expressions were assimilated to those of the

current correspondence of the period.

A letter from a mother to her children discovered in the Faiyûm: end of Second or beginning of Third century A.D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deissmann, op. cit. pp. 320-66.

'Serapias to her children Ptolemaios and Apolinaria and Ptolemaios, with many greetings. First and foremost I pray for your good health which I deem of all things the most essential. I join in worship before my god Serapis, praying that I may hear that you are well, even as I pray for your general welfare. I rejoiced when I received your letter telling me that you were well recovered. Salute Ammonous with his wife and children and also those that love you. Cyrilla saluteth you and Hermias the daughter of Hermias, Hermanoubis the nurse, Athenais . . . . Cyrilla, Casia, . . . Empis, in fact all who are here. Answer therefore my inquiry regarding yourself, what you are about, for you know that if I receive tidings of you I rejoice in your well-being. I pray that you may prosper.' 1

A mere glance at this letter reveals the many features it has in common with the Pauline letters. It contains an address, a prayer, a rejoicing, a request, and closes with the usual salutations, all of which corresponds closely with the plan and contents of the normal Apostolic letter. The very phrases concerning the prayer and the rejoicing remind us strongly of similar expressions and sentiments on the part of St. Paul, as e.g. in Ephes. i. 16, Col. i. 9, 2 Cor. vii. 7, Phil. ii. 20, Philemon 7. The word used so frequently in this letter with reference to bodily health 2 is again a favourite word with St. Paul, but in his case the anxiety expressed is not so much for the soundness of the body as for that of the faith of his spiritual children.

To sum up this part of our subject, the net result of these discoveries and their study is to make it difficult, if not impossible, to speak any longer of New Testament Greek as an isolated and separate linguistic unity. The evidence adduced in the course of this article, which is, after all, but a small fraction of the evidence that is available, leads to one conclusion only, and we are now bound to recognize that the Greek of the New Testament is, on the whole, one with the universal vernacular Greek which obtained throughout the dominion of Imperial Rome in Italy and the East.

2 ύγιαίνειν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Milligan, Epistles to the Thessalonians, p. 128.

## III

We have not exhausted the significance of the 'Koinë' documents when we have discussed their influence upon our conceptions of the character of New Testament Greek. They open up another wide and important field of inquiry, which we may put in this form—What light does the new evidence throw upon our estimate of the various books of the New Testament as literature?

This problem was to a large degree incapable of solution previous to the discovery of these documents, because, speaking generally, the New Testament was unique, and was practically the only example we possessed of the literature of that particular type. That the many books of which it was composed did not all represent the same level of culture was quite apparent, but as there was nothing to compare them with it was difficult to classify them or to determine their rank as literature. This difficulty has now been removed, and we find ourselves in the presence of a quasi-literature which exhibits an even greater variety of culture than the New Testament, so that it is hardly too much to say that every book in the New Testament has its parallel among the papyri documents.1 What has always been regarded as the literature of our period was in form a mere imitation of the Attic Greek of the Fourth and Fifth centuries B.C.: but it was Attic Greek with a difference, i.e. with a considerable admixture of elements derived from the colloquial language, and containing a large proportion of words and constructions which would certainly not have commended themselves to the Athenian writers of the 'Golden Age' of Greek letters. Now, that the books of the New Testament, taken as a whole, bore no relation to the literature of the 'Atticizing' type needs no proof, and we shall not go far astray if we affirm that the majority of its writers had not the slightest idea that they were producing literature at all. There is in it no straining after literary effect, and any conscious imitation of a model,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Moulton, Grammar of New Testament Greek, p. 4. VOL. LXXVII.—NO. CLIII.

however exalted, is conspicuous by its absence. Perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the New Testament writings as a whole than their perfect simplicity and naturalness. Even the Epistles of St. Paul are not 'epistles' in the literary sense of the term (with the possible exception of that to the Romans), but simple letters, called forth by the immediate needs of the situation, betraying no pretensions to literary style and form, and far removed from the formal 'epistle,' which was an artistic and carefully composed document, intended for the eye of the public. It would seem then that the greater proportion of the New Testament belongs to the non-literary rather than the literary type of Hellenistic writings, and that we have to seek for parallels to it in that class of document which is revealed in the papyri.

With these documents and Dr. Moulton<sup>1</sup> as our guides it now becomes possible to classify approximately the writers of the New Testament according to their rank in

the world of education and culture.

Starting from the lowest rung of the ladder, the two books which betray the least knowledge of Greek culture are St. Mark's Gospel and the Apocalypse. The author of the latter is guilty of some striking deviations from correct Greek, the most remarkable of which is found perhaps in the first chapter.<sup>2</sup> We are the more surprised at these aberrations because he expresses himself in Greek with great fluency. But Greek is to him evidently a secondary language, the idioms and constructions of which he has never thoroughly mastered.

St. Mark's Gospel exhibits the lowest stage of Greek culture of all the New Testament writers, and comes closest to the type of the less educated papyri. Some of this is doubtless due to the fact that his original sources were Aramaic, and to this we must attribute the presence of so much 'translation Greek' throughout the Gospel.

A little removed from St. Mark is the writer of the First Gospel, who, although a Jew in outlook and sentiment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cambridge Biblical Essays, pp. 464-505.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> E.g. i. 5, where he writes ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πιστός,

employs the Hellenistic Greek of the ordinary type. That his knowledge of this language was superior to that possessed by St. Mark is demonstrated by his frequent and fairly successful attempts to improve the style and diction of the latter.

The 'Johannine literature' would seem to belong to the same grade of Greek as that of St. Matthew's Gospel, and we may place in the same class the Epistles of St. James, St. Jude, and I St. Peter, all of whom, in spite of their Jewish birth and education, are free and vigorous in their use of the language. This confirms the statement in a preceding page that Palestine, like Egypt, where, as the papyri prove, peasants, slaves, and schoolboys express themselves in Greek with absolute ease, was a bilingual country. The writers that we have enumerated all used Aramaic as their native tongue, and Greek was to them only a subsidiary language.

We now come to deal with writers to whom Greek was practically a primary language, although in the case of one of them, St. Paul, Aramaic was equally at his command. Among these we include, besides St. Paul, St. Luke, and the authors of the Epistle to the Hebrews and 2 St. Peter.

St. Luke, as befits a member of a learned profession, expresses himself generally in the language of the more cultured section of the Hellenistic community. His diction, however, approaches that of the preceding type in those sections of his work where, as e.g. in the early chapters of the Acts, the scenes are placed in Palestine and he is influenced by the cruder style of his sources. When, however, he comes to describe the great Pauline mission in the centres of Hellenistic civilization he reverts to the more cosmopolitan style which was natural to him. In his Gospel he also, like the writer of the First Gospel, and to a greater degree, corrects and improves upon the Greek of St. Mark.

A complete knowledge of ordinary Greek was an absolute necessity to one whose main work was destined, as St. Paul's was, to lie in the great Hellenistic provinces of the Empire. His Greek, however, is certainly not that of the Atticists,

but that of the colloquial language of the day. Some of the most striking features which mark his style were no doubt due to the fact that his letters were as a rule dictated. i.e. they were spoken and written, and were therefore speeches and not treatises. These reflect in every line the ruggedness and impetuosity of one who never dreamt that his words, often the outcome of burning zeal or of anxious fears, and uttered for the occasion only, were to become literature, and least of all sacred literature.

The Epistle to the Hebrews and 2 St. Peter stand in a class by themselves. They both approach the literary style of the Atticists, and contain none of those lapses from correct grammar and idiom of which even St. Luke and St. Paul are sometimes guilty. Of the two, 2 St. Peter is the more artificial. The Greek of this letter is Greek learned from books, and has been compared by Dr. Abbott to the English of an Indian Babu.1

Before closing this article I would point out that I have endeavoured throughout to reproduce the conclusions that Deissmann and his followers, notably Dr. Moulton, have derived from the study of the papyri and ostraka as it affects the Greek of the New Testament. At the same time I am not quite satisfied that Deissmann, in his natural enthusiasm on behalf of his new theory, has not gone too far in some directions. In his emphatic declarations that the New Testament is written in the language of the people, and is, therefore, non-literary, he seems to have forgotten the fact that the language of the common people has sometimes embodied literature, and literature of the very highest type, as in the case of The Pilgrim's Progress. His estimates of St. Paul's position in the social world, 'a weaver of cloth' and nothing more, and of his Epistles in the world of literature are both lower than the facts demand. The eulogy of love in I Cor. xiii. is surely literature of the noblest character. and the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, one if not both of them intended to be read in a large circle of Churches, are certainly not written in a colloquial style, but in a style which is dignified and stately, and which in

<sup>1</sup> Moulton in Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 484,

some respects reminds us of the diction of the great prophets of Israel. Deissmann's conception of the educational standard of the early Church errs in the same direction. Here he has left out of sight the enormous influence of the Old Testament and of the Synagogue upon the Jewish and Greek-Jewish communities, which produced a higher state of knowledge and culture among the first Christian converts than he is prepared to allow. Now that we have uttered our protest against some of his more extreme conclusions, we readily acknowledge the enormous debt which the study of the language of the New Testament owes to the insight and industry of Dr. Deissmann and to the labours of his able co-workers in our own country.

MAURICE JONES.

## ART. VI.—PRESBYTERIAN REUNION IN SCOTLAND.

- I. The Layman's Book of the General Assembly of 1913. (Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 1913.)
- 2. United Free Church of Scotland. Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly held at Edinburgh, May 1913. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable. 1913.)
- 3. Re-union: The Necessary Requirements of the Church of Scotland. 'Scottish Church Society Conferences,' Fourth Series. (Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 1909.)
- 4. Presbyterian Re-union in Scotland: The Permanent Solution of the Problem. By J. A. Paterson, D.D. (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze. 1912.)

Scotland again claims our attention. Since the day when Thomas Chalmers and his associates marched out of St. Andrew's Church in Edinburgh, and the Free Church of Scotland was constituted in the hall at Canonmills, no such event as the appearance of the Moderator of the Established Church in the Assembly 'over the way' had ever happened, until, during the sitting of the Assemblies last May,

Dr. Wallace Williamson, following, as he said, the dictates of his own heart, took his courage in his hand and crossed the road. A few hours later the visit was returned, and Principal Iverach, the Moderator of the United Free Church, was seen and heard in the highest court of the Auld Kirk. Though in either case the visit was a purely personal act, each Moderator wore his official robes, and the general enthusiasm with which his appearance was greeted gave a practical sanction to the interchange of courtesies, which marked the occasion as historic.

The world now knows that a reconciliation, which twenty years ago seemed impossible, and ten years ago at least improbable, has come so far within the range of practical politics that it is the opponents of a reunion between the two great divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism who have now the more difficult task. The great body of sober opinion, not only in the two Churches immediately concerned but throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, expects that the negotiations of the past five years shall not end in failure. And that yet wider public sentiment, which has followed the progress of events with ever deepening interest, is likely to prove a large, if not easily defined, factor in the ultimate result. There can be no question that the Assemblies of 1913 represent a crisis in the history of the movement which those who watch its progress from outside will do well to endeavour to appreciate and understand.

The honour of initiating the movement rests with the communion which is legally entitled to style itself the Church of Scotland, and which, quite apart from the fact of its establishment, is probably more representative than any other of the religious life of the country. It was in 1908 that the General Assembly resolved 'to request the other Presbyterian Churches to confer with them in a friendly and generous spirit on the present ecclesiastical situation.' Copies of this 'deliverance' were transmitted to the Assemblies of the United Free Church and of the body popularly known as the 'Wee Frees,' both of which meet simultaneously with that of the Established Church. By the former the proposal was courteously acknowledged and a

committee appointed 'to report thereon to the next General Assembly.' In the following year this committee presented its report to the Assembly of the United Free Church, which thereupon, while expressing doubts whether such a conference offered 'the path best fitted to lead to union,' resolved 'to enter into unrestricted conference with their brethren' of the Established Church' on the main causes which keep the Churches apart.' As was to be expected, this decision met with a prompt response from 'over the way.' Thus was called into existence a committee—in point of numbers and representative character a very Assembly in itself—the product of two distinct committees responsible to their several Churches—' Representatives to confer with the United Free Church ' on the one hand, and the 'Committee on conference with the Committee of the Church of Scotland' on the other. The annual business of the supreme court of either Church arises to a large extent out of the reports submitted by its committees. These deal with a host of miscellaneous subjects—investments, statistics, foreign missions, hymns, church extension; and tucked away among these-it is, for example, No. XXVI. in the volume issued by the United Free Church for 1913will be found the record of progress in this matter, compared with which the rest are for the most part commonplace and ephemeral. But much of the real work has been done out of doors. It was necessary to create and maintain an atmosphere in which the formal discussions might become fruitful. The historian of these years will have to chronicle the issue of pamphlets; the institution of a Church Union Journal, in which information has been disseminated, views interchanged, and opinion formed; the publication of an 'Appeal to the People of Scotland,' bearing the signatures of more than eleven hundred of the most representative persons in the country; and the operation of many other influences, notably the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, all of which have powerfully affected the development of events.

The feeling of the joint conference ebbed and flowed. At one time the two sections seemed to be drifting apart,

at another they again drew towards each other. Discussions on general principles, especially when conducted by a large and heterogeneous body, are apt to be dilatory, inconclusive, and ineffective. And the proceedings were in the nature of the case tentative. To have descended hastily from the abstract to the concrete, from the attempt to adjust points of view to the consideration of specific proposals, would have been to wreck the ship of reunion on the rocks of prejudice. But at length a year ago it seemed to the representatives of the Church of Scotland not only that the time had arrived when some indication might be given of the general lines which reconstruction might be expected to follow, but that, in the interests of the ordinary office-bearers and members of both Churches, without whose cordial co-operation all efforts must prove abortive, it was essential that some tangible proposals should no longer be withheld. Obviously it was from the side of the Church of Scotland that such proposals must proceed. Not only were members of it the originators of the movement but it was the Established Church that must in the event of ultimate agreement approach the Legislature for such modifications of the existing relations of Church and State as would give effect to the new constitution. Their terms of reference, of course, forbade the submission of a scheme purporting to carry with it the authority of the Church. Such a scheme could only be offered by the General Assembly itself after it had been duly submitted to the Presbyteries in terms of the Barrier Act. Nor would they have been acting in the spirit of their commission if they had unwisely produced a cut and dried list of propositions, an ultimatum of possible concessions, for their colleagues of the other communion to take or leave. What they did was to draw up, for further and more concentrated discussion, a memorandum, setting forth a 'suggested course of procedure and of possible legislation with a view to Presbyterian reunion in Scotland.'

Its main points were briefly as follows:

I. That, to secure spiritual autonomy, a constitution should be framed by a commission, representative

of both Churches, in which due provision should be made for future modification, if at any time it should be desired, by legislative enactment of the Church itself.

II. That this constitution should then be submitted by the existing Church of Scotland to Parliament not for ratification but for recognition, and that all statutes of the realm inconsistent with it should be repealed.

III. That the Church, as governed by this constitution, should be recognized by the State as national and as 'preserving her continuity with the

Church of the Reformation.'

IV. That the Act of Parliament, giving, or continuing, to the Church of Scotland this national character, should expressly deny any exclusive claim to legal recognition as a Christian Church, or even provide for the extension of similar recognition to other religious bodies.

V. That ancient endowments should not be secularized.

The memorandum was duly presented to the United Free Church. For a whole year it was before the two Churches and indeed the whole country. Then came the Assemblies of the present year. Tuesday, May 27, was the critical day. Was the action of the Church of Scotland to be justified? The question that each of the supreme courts had to decide was a simple one. Were the two parties sufficiently agreed upon general principles for the representatives of the Established Church, with the assistance of their friends in the other communion, to prepare a constitution on the lines suggested? In neither Assembly was the opposing voice entirely hushed. But in the one case it was only strong enough to indicate that the Disestablishment Council, once dominant in the Free Assembly and in the Synod of the United Presbyterians, is a waning force in Scotland; in the other it was practically confined to a demand for guarantees that the case of the Establishment should not be surrendered. From the first there seemed to be little doubt about the issue.

result was unanimous decisions, carried amid scenes of enthusiasm. The United Free Church resolved to reappoint their committee, approving of the course suggested in the report. The Church of Scotland authorized its representatives 'to endeavour to frame the draft of such a constitution as is suggested in the said memorandum,' requiring only that it should be presented to the General Assembly for approval before being formally transmitted to the United Free Church. Then they fell to prayer. This was the occasion of the interchange of visits between the Moderators.

To those who have any knowledge of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland thirty years ago nothing could well appear more remarkable than the present attitude towards one another of the two great Presbyterian Churches. For a dozen years after Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign the relations of what were then the Free and United Presbyterian Churches with the Establishment were those of bitter and apparently irreconcilable antagonism. Under the astute leadership of Dr. Rainy they hotly pursued the policy of disestablishment and were so far successful as to procure the introduction of a suspensory bill. There may even be some truth in the assertion, once frequently heard among partisans of the Established Church, that the now famous union of 1900 was first conceived in furtherance of this political object. The United Presbyterians had long been consistent 'voluntaries,' as the phrase went. Under stress of circumstances, which tended to throw them into alliance with Scottish sectaries and English political dissent, Free Churchmen receded further and further from the position of Dr. Chalmers and his contemporaries, regarding their own Church not as a witness for the freedom of the Church of Scotland but as a claim for its reduction to the lower level of toleration and the cessation, so far as might be, of all specific relations between organized religion and the State. Year by year the majorities in favour of that hardy annual in the Free Assembly, the Disestablishment Resolution, increased in volume, till its opponents sunk into insignificance, only to emerge into temporary prominence when after 1900 their startling legal triumph in the House of Lords exercised an important influence upon the fortunes and outlook of their former friends, who had now passed into the United Free Church.

Then came that strange and silent revolution in men's thoughts, the effect of which we are witnessing to-day. old war cries died down. Disestablishment ceased to be a policy to conjure with. The demand for 'religious equality' which, rather than spiritual independence, had become the prominent note of Scottish Nonconformity, was no longer urged with its former vehemence. The amalgamation of the unestablished churches, far from being the prelude to a more vigorous attack on their privileged sister, was recognized as the harbinger of the larger union now definitely contemplated. Scotland presents a salient instance of a transformation which is discernible everywhere. doctrinaire of the Nineteenth century has given place to the historical thinker of the Twentieth. Men are not less tenacious of their principles, but they set them in a somewhat different relation to facts. They perceive the artificiality of seeking to reproduce them in an external order which shall give such complete effect to one set that it leaves no room for another. The lion and the lamb are not so antithetic that they may not lie down together, even while the millennium tarries. Dr. Sanday is quite right when he affirms that the temper of the younger Nonconformist is not that of his grandfather. But it is equally true that the temper of the Churchman has also changed. This does not mean that the former hesitates in his devotion to spiritual independence and religious equality. So far we may agree with Dr. Clifford. It is when this protagonist of political dissent proceeds to declare that this devotion involves uncompromising adherence to the Mid-Victorian policy of disruptive disestablishment that the facts are against him, if not in Wales, which is more than fifteen years behind the rest of the country, at least in Great Britain generally and conspicuously in Scotland. And, when we turn to Churchmen, whether of the English or the Presbyterian type, there is a corresponding readiness, not indeed to sanction a violent breach with history, but to admit that the existing relations

between Church and State are not the only possible conditions of a national recognition of religion.

And Scotland affords peculiarly favourable circumstances for giving effect to this altered habit of mind. Practically, apart from Presbyterianism, only two communities of Christians, the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians, count in the religious life of the country, and that for historical rather than numerical reasons. Neither is oppressed with a sense of grievance. Both stand aside from present controversies. Over eighty per cent., or fourfifths of the entire population, are included in the two bodies, the union of which is now under consideration. To be inside the life of Scotland is to be fully aware of those subtler differences of attitude which mark the two Churches, and which are the real obstacle to an effective union. But to the outsider, apart from the fact that one has a legal relation to the State and the other not, the division between them appears a distinction without a difference. They have the same standards, the same doctrine, the same discipline. Territorially they are almost equally spread. In most parishes the Auld Kirk and the United Free Kirk are almost equally accessible. Government chaplains are chosen almost indifferently from either. The Established Church is the more numerous, but the United Free, even reckoning the teinds and other ancient endowments on the other side, is the wealthier. The social cleavage, which is the real crux of the situation in England, does not exist, and its absence disproves the assertion that it is due to Establishment per se. All these considerations simplify the problem, and concentrate the attention of the country upon a single issue.

The problem, then, which the Scottish Churches are setting themselves to solve, and with good hope of ultimate success, is this: Can the principle of spiritual independence, for which the United Free Church has consistently stood, be so combined with that of a national recognition of religion, to which the Church of Scotland has always attached very great importance, as sufficiently to satisfy the ideals and aspirations of both communions? To this must be added

a second, which their own experience as non-established Churches has forced into prominence in the minds of both sections of the United Free Church. Can this consummation be reached in such a way as to secure the principle of religious equality? Now, in the first place, it is necessary to observe the change of attitude on the part of the Established Church. Ever since the disaster of 1843 its members have been sincerely anxious to repair the breach. The rock on which the great split had occurred was private patronage, and in 1874 an Act of Parliament was obtained whereby the Revolution Settlement, which the Act of Queen Anne reviving the rights of patrons had impaired without the concurrence of the Church, was restored and the choice of ministers given back to the people. This was a bare act of tardy justice to the Church. But the reason why this measure, together with the subsequent attempts to undo the effect of obnoxious judgements of the civil courts by the declaratory bill associated with the name of Sir Robert Finlay, failed to reconcile the Free Church or to recall an appreciable number of its members to the fold, is a very simple one. It is one thing to avert a schism, it is another thing to heal it. Thirty or forty years of an organized and separate existence cannot be ignored. New bearings of the principle of spiritual independence had necessarily presented themselves to men who had experienced its operation apart altogether from the old State connexion. Two Churches which have existed side by side for seventy years can be brought together only by a reconstruction which shall comprehend them both, not by relaxations which shall enable the one to reabsorb the other. Here lies the merit of the action which has now been taken by the Church of Scotland. They proposed 'unrestricted conference' on the cause of division. meant an open mind with regard to the manner in which the national recognition of religion might in fact be secured.

To-day there is no question that we find more difficult to answer than that which asks in what does the 'Establishment' of religion consist. It seemed plain enough in the days when men first began to talk of liberating religion

from State patronage and control. It meant just what the advocates of this policy were seeking to destroy. There could be no sort of compromise between parties who were quite certain that they knew what it was that was thus vigorously attacked and stoutly defended. But what is essential to Establishment? Does it consist in the admission of certain of the clergy to the civil legislature, or in the incorporation of the law of the Church with the laws of the realm, or in the assent of Parliament to ecclesiastical legislation? None of these things exists in Scotland. Does it consist in royal nomination to ecclesiastical preferment? The King appoints only his own chaplains, a purely personal matter. His ministers fill certain academic posts, which happen to be confined to the Established clergy, and military chaplaincies, which are not so confined. Clearly it is not the retention of ancient endowments, for this is defended, as in England, upon grounds independent of civil privilege, and it is only the advocates of disestablishment who continue to repeat the cry that the clergy are State-paid. What, then, of the possession by the courts of the Church of a jurisdiction recognized by the courts of the realm? But to-day it is argued that some such jurisdiction must be accorded to Churches that neither have nor wish to have special relations with the State, if they are to have that legislative and judicial authority over their own members which is claimed as inherent in the very conception of a Church. Since the time of Queen Victoria, it has been customary for the Sovereign to worship in the Established Church, when resident in Scotland, but this is purely a matter of personal choice, and he is not obliged, as in England, to be a member of it. If reference be made to the pledge to maintain Presbyterian government, which is required of the King at his accession, this is only a guarantee that he will not repeat the action of his Stuart ancestors and force prelacy upon an unwilling people. It ought to disappear the moment that the Church of Scotland itself desired to modify its present discipline. It is sometimes supposed that an Established Church is necessarily territorial; but there is nothing in the legal position of the Church of

Scotland that either enables or obliges it to cover the length and breadth of the land. Every Church in the country endeavours to do the same. Little remains but the annual pageant of the Lord High Commissioner and his attendance upon the General Assembly, which jealously excludes him from all share in its deliberations. No doubt with disestablishment this interesting, historic, and important function would disappear. But year by year it is becoming, as probably most Scotsmen would desire, rather a recognition of Scottish Christianity generally than of the Establishment in particular. The High Commissioner anticipated the Moderator by a year at least in his visit to the other Assembly. Nor is it unlikely that if, for example, the annual meetings of the Episcopal Church were always held in Edinburgh and synchronized with the Assemblies, His Grace would there also be a welcome guest. And it is now many years since the leading representatives of most religious bodies began to share with their Established friends the hospitality of Holyrood.

These are probably some of the considerations that prompted the Church of Scotland to approach the other Presbyterians and say: 'We are convinced that in all the circumstances of our Church taken together there is a public acknowledgement of Christianity, which is not only the heritage of our past history but an important factor in the future welfare of the nation. We are sure that a rupture of the relations between Church and State would be disastrous. But we are not prepared to define beforehand what modifications of those relations could be undertaken without destroying continuity with the Past or letting slip the great principle for which we have earnestly contended. If, as we believe, you are really as concerned to maintain that principle as we are to defend the Church's freedom in spiritual things, or if, at least, you are not unwilling to allow a place in a reunited Church for those who cherish it, then we do not see why united prayer and effort should not enable us to work out a constitution, preserving all that either values, in a Church which is both national and free.'

If there is something significant in the altered temper of the Established Church, the change in the United Free Church is, perhaps, more remarkable still. The troubled years which succeeded the union of 1900 have not been without their lesson for the 'high-flyers' of spiritual independence. The judgement of the House of Lords in the Wee Free' case is an accomplished fact. If, as Lord Loreburn is reported to have said, that decision was good neither in law nor equity, it was nevertheless final and resulted in civil legislation, which became the basis on which the United Church now holds the greater part of its property. The men of '43 were shocked when the judges declared that the courts of the Church of Scotland possessed no jurisdiction save what they received from the laws of the realm. It is now certain, even if it was formerly doubted, that these same judges would have declared that the courts of all other Scottish Churches possess no jurisdiction whatsoever. Under present conditions no 'free' Church can exist save by voluntary association in terms of the common law of contract. Disestablishment would produce equality only by reducing the one communion which enjoys a larger measure of liberty, in consequence of its historic relations with the State, to the level of a commercial company or an ordinary club. Civil judges, perhaps with no special qualifications for appreciating either theology or ecclesiastical history, would claim the right to examine its doctrine and government, precisely as was done in the case of the United Free Church. What becomes, then, of 'the crown rights of the Redeemer'? The question is unanswerable until it is clearly perceived, first, that 'jurisdiction' in the mouth of a lawyer has a specific meaning, and secondly that no scheme of liberty which can be devised can ever prevent the King's courts from deciding whether the limits of authority conceded to, or, if you will, recognized as inherent in, an ecclesiastical assembly have been exceeded.

But while these considerations cannot be evaded, it may still be true that the conditions under which a Church is permitted to develop its own life may constitute an unwarranted invasion of its inherent spiritual character. No instructed Christian can well deny that the Church is a society both wider and older than a modern State, which has no right to interfere with its fidelity to its Divine Head. Now it is just here that the United Free Church has felt the pinch of the shoe. Claiming the moral right to modify their relation towards the Westminster Confession and to decide for themselves whether recognition of the 'Establishment principle' was or was not inherent in their constitution. they found that the State would allow no such legal right but insisted on examining trust-deeds and other documents and on determining their position in virtue of its own interpretation of these instruments. This has led to a demand, shared by other religious bodies, that Churches should receive a distinct recognition by the civil legislature and no longer be classed with charities and other similar institutions, which are governed by the dead hand of former ages. Churches are not limited trusts but living societies. But, then, their present difficulties are the result, not of any disposition on the part of the State to hamper their activities, but simply of history. The existence of more than one separately organized religious society within the boundaries of one civil community is the effect of controversy. Again, when we fix our attention upon the Revolution Settlement, which regulated those present relations of the Church of Scotland with the State which have only become 'special' in virtue of the subsequent rise of other Churches. we find that its intention was to concede freedom not to secure control. No one contemplated subscription to the Westminster Confession as then demanded, any more than the requirement of Presbyterian government, as a limitation of the Church's liberty. They were its guarantee. What justice requires to-day is that the work of the Seventeenth century should be adjusted to modern circumstances, and that all Churches should be recognized as the living guardians of their own identity.

A similar change is observable in the relation of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The only exceptions to this statement are the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches. The latter is 'protected and allowed by law.' The former could not at the time be even tolerated.

United Free Church to the principle of religious equality. Confronted with the question 'Do you desire that there shall be no national recognition of Christianity?' they answer emphatically 'No.' But, to begin with, what becomes of the claim to equality as it might be advanced by an agnostic or a Jew? If it be vaguely asserted that it is the conduct of national affairs on Christian principles which constitutes this recognition, do we mean the ethics of Mr. F. B. Meyer or of Cardinal Bourne? On some crucial questions these are not identical. If it be urged that national occasions and public events should be consecrated by the voice of prayer and praise, what equality is there, when the State expresses its religion by the lips, let us say, of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregationalist ministers to the exclusion of those whom it is impossible to include in one brief act of worship, or whose principles would forbid them to participate, even if invited to do so? Two alternatives alone are possible: either to exclude religion altogether or to admit some formal inequality. May it not, then, be the better course for the State to refrain from exercising all direct choice in these matters, and to recognize a church, recommended alike by its historical associations and its numerical preponderance, as the most fitting representative of the nation's Christianity?

The attempt that has thus been made to estimate the causes and character of the change of temper in Scotland, which has predisposed the two Churches towards a sympathetic consideration of each other's standpoint, may in some respects fail to represent the actual condition of affairs. But that such a change exists, it is scarcely possible for any unprejudiced observer to doubt. And the fact remains that no critic of the proposed union in either Assembly was bold enough to divide the house on the grave issue with which last May it was confronted.

We are now in a position to forecast with a tolerable approach to accuracy the form which the new constitution will assume. There can be little doubt that it will follow the general lines of the memorandum. First of all it will secure to the Church of Scotland absolute independence in

the exercise of its legislative and judicial functions on a scale wide enough to cover all contingencies which the present age can foresee. Will this include the right of departure from the Presbyterian form of government? It must do so, if it is to be consistent, even if this involve a modification of the Act of Union. Unless the constitution contained the 'power of future modification' in this direction, it would still leave a very important point in which that constitution would be 'prescribed by Parliament.' The Church of Scotland will thus exchange the 'special' relations, which now connect it with the realm, for a status which it is prepared to share with all Christian communities.

Secondly, the constitution will be so framed as to preserve the national character of the Church and its continuity with the Church of the Reformation,' both of which the State will be asked to recognize. Beyond making it plain that the process is not disestablishment, that is, a repudiation of the Church by the State, it is not very clearly indicated what this part of the scheme involves. It probably means that the King is to continue the annual appointment of a High Commissioner, and that other acts of public recognition, which are rather of the nature of customary usages than legal rights, shall not in future be omitted. But would it really be wise to include any mention of 'the Church of the Reformation,' especially as the document is to receive the recognition of Parliament? Do not all the Presbyterian Churches claim such continuity, as it is? Will not those bodies who do not see their way to enter the united Church resent the identification of the State with any such view? Does not the Episcopal Church claim to be the legitimate successor of the Church as it existed prior to the Revolution? And may not an institution, which at no period of its history has claimed to be anything less than the Auld Kirk in the fullest historical sense, find reason to regret the adoption of a phrase which may come to be interpreted to the advantage of the Roman claims? Surely all that is wanted, and all that the State at any rate can be properly asked to recognize, is a true succession between the first General Assembly meeting under the new constitution and the General Assembly immediately preceding it.

There remains one other point—the disposal of the ancient endowments. In view of the fact that in 1910 the combined income of the two Churches amounted to over two and a half millions, and that of this sum only 220,000l. represented teinds (tithe),1 most people will agree with Dr. Williamson that they are not likely to constitute a serious factor in the settlement. Even if they were diverted from their present use, the loss to the united Church would be still smaller than appears on paper. For in a large number of parishes where they exist there is at this moment a double ministry, which might without disadvantage be reduced to one. Moreover payment by teind is an antiquated and cumbrous system. But conscience, and especially the lay conscience, would probably not be satisfied unless the teinds, or a capital sum of equivalent value, were devoted to purposes generally recognized as consistent with their original intention.

The coming of one united Church for Presbyterian Scotland is not a prospect which the Church of England may be content to contemplate with merely benevolent interest, still less with complacent indifference. We are more deeply concerned with the future than some among us are yet aware. Our own communion has been called the Church of the Reconciliation, because it has affinities with ancient catholicism and modern protestantism. It has sympathies both with the historic Churches and with the daughters of the Reformation, which, as we believe, enable it to bring forth out of its treasure things new and old. But something of the same sort may be said of these Churches of the Genevan model. Leaving out of account those wider reconciliations, without which the Body of Christ cannot

¹ The income of the Church of Scotland from ancient endowments exceeded 300,000l. But of this sum about 46,000l. represents the value of manses and glebe, and serious dispute would only concern teind. There remain the 'unexhausted teinds,' at present unclaimed from the heritors, out of which, under certain conditions, parish ministers apply to the Court of Teinds for augmentation of stipend.

be made perfect, the gathering together of British Christians is a vision yet more glorious than a reunited Scotland. In this matter Presbyterians have a peculiar part to play, if they are permitted to rise to the greatness of their opportunity. The most obstinate schism among Englishspeaking Christians who reject the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome is that which divides those who retain the Episcopal Order from those who have lost it. Viewed merely as a practical question, it is difficult to find a middle term between a closely knit society, whose bond is the historic canonical ministry, and that federation of religious bodies, now commonly called the Free Churches, whose ministries seem to have no point of contact with our own. But with Presbyterians it is different. They have never lost a conception of the visible Church, which is essentially one with that which inheres in the facts of our own communion. If they have lost the episcopate, they have never rejected the theory of ordination. The view of the sacraments set forth in their recognized standards is virtually that which has been preserved among ourselves. It is easy to imagine a change in the form of their Church government, suggested by practical considerations and developed on lines for which historical precedent exists, which would pave the way for an 'unrestricted conference' between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. On the other hand they have avenues of approach to other Christians which are denied to the Church of England, and at present could only be obtained by the surrender of its own ideals. The hopefulness of modern effort is the honest determination to seek union not by minimizing but by adjusting ideals. What is now accomplishing itself in Scotland will have to be the guiding principle of yet greater ventures of faith.

There are, as is well known, two trends of thought among Scottish Presbyterians. There are those who are inclined to be impatient of ancient expressions of doctrine and who sit loosely to their distinctive order and discipline. There are others, like the late Professor Milligan, who are tenacious of both. It is an open secret that such anxiety as exists with regard to the proposed union connects itself

with these deeper things rather than with the ostensible obstacles to fellowship. It is surely of the utmost importance, in view of the larger issues, that present negotiations should be confined strictly to the matter in hand, and that nothing should be done which should make it difficult for what may, perhaps, without offence be called the traditional school to move freely and exercise its legitimate influence in the united Church. No one whose eye is fixed on the reunion of Christendom could desire a cheap gain for episcopacy at the expense of a broader future. The continuity of the Presbyterian witness must be vital and not formal.

But no Scotsman, not even the most convinced Episcopalian, can contemplate the wonder of this great movement with dry eyes. Our fathers differed, because they loved Scotland. Their children are holding out their hands, because they love Scotland still. We believe, all of us, with passionate conviction that the Kirk of God is a living society, possessed of an authority from its royal Redeemer, which earthly states can neither give nor take away. And, as we watch these men, patiently building the wall in troublous times, we can echo the words of the old Psalm: 'For my brethren and companions' sake I will wish thee prosperity.'

J. G. SIMPSON.

## ART. VII.—CHRISTIANITY AS A GOSPEL.

- I. The Quest of the Historical Jesus. A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede. By Albert Schweitzer. Translated by W. Montgomery, B.D., with a Preface by F. C. Burkitt, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (London: A. and C. Black. 1910.)
- 2. The Eschatology of the Gospels. By Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Strassburg. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.)

3. Primitive Christian Eschatology. The Hulsean Prize Essay for 1908. By E. C. Dewick. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1912.)

And other Works.

THE teaching of Christ has from the very first been proclaimed as a gospel. This in itself seems to involve two assertions, the assertion of a claim and the assertion of a fact. It implies a claim to furnish that which is the satisfaction of a want or need, and thereby it impliedly asserts the fact that there is a want or need to be satisfied. What is good news to one man may be no good news to another. The same piece of intelligence may be eagerly welcomed by one to whom, perhaps, it means the announcement of that for which he has been hoping and waiting, while to another it may be quite indifferent, simply because it does not supply a want or meet a need: to the one it is indeed good news, while to the other, it is not so. It is true that an announcement may be in fact a gospel without its being recognized as supplying a need, but this results either from the recipient being unaware of the existence of the need or from his not recognizing that which is offered as satisfying the need of which he is aware. It remains true that where there is no need there can be no gospel, and that a gospel is necessarily correlative to a pre-existing need, whether recognized or not.

If then Christianity has from the very first been proclaimed as a gospel, it is thereby impliedly claimed for it that it corresponds to and satisfies some antecedent need in those to whom it is addressed. Further than this, in so far as it is proclaimed as a gospel for the whole of mankind, the claim made for it must be that it corresponds to a need of man as such, a need pre-existing in the very constitution of man's being. In fact that it is an answer, if not the answer, to the problem of human life. It seems not wholly superfluous to emphasize this point, because Christianity is so often treated as though it were only concerned with needs which it has itself first created. Christianity may have had much to do with bringing such needs to conscious recognition, but the need itself is inherent in human nature.

Christianity then, if it be indeed a gospel, is not an artificial device for turning man from a human into a religious animal, but is offered as being the fulfilment of the unfulfilled capacity of man's nature, as supplying a need which pre-exists in the very constitution of his being. It can be nothing less than this which is claimed for the teaching of Christ, if it be indeed a gospel for mankind.

Now the question whether there is such a need would not seem to admit of much debate. Not only are we conscious of it in ourselves. That might conceivably be the effect of a Christian atmosphere, if not of a Christian faith. We find evidence from many sources, going back far beyond the beginning of the Christian era, of man being by his very nature ever reaching out to something that is beyond him, ever filled with an insatiable yearning after something without which he cannot rest satisfied and to which he vet cannot attain. It is this which has admittedly been the source of all those systems of religion and of philosophy which have been, and are being, offered to man. It has been said of the old Greek philosophies that they were at their best essentially philosophies of life. However abstruse, remote, or absurd they may appear in their developments, they were in their origins concerned with problems of real life and sought for answer to those enigmas which human life cannot fail to present to all who give it serious thought. The problem remains essentially the same for us now, as for men of centuries ago. There is a need inherent in our very being which requires to be satisfied.

To endeavour to state in terms of definition what that need is and all that it involves, would be to undertake an impossible task. On the other hand, to characterize it merely as being the craving of the finite for the infinite, or some similar form of expression, might justly be considered to be using words to conceal an absence of thought. Without then any idea of being exhaustive, leaving aside any other aspects which might be put forward, we may perhaps touch upon two forms or aspects of that which we regard as being the essential need of man's nature, that without which his being cannot rest satisfied.

1913

Is not one form or aspect of such need that of a purpose or end which shall give value to all life? Man is a creature of aims and ambitions. All that we do is directed to some aim. Probably no man exists who has not some ambition which, perhaps only vaguely formulated, is the goal to which his activities are directed. But no such aim or ambition can be complete in itself. Each is but the rung of what seems to be an endless ladder. The ambition attained is but the starting-point for the pursuit of a higher, every end in its turn proves to be a means, and so we come to feel that the whole series is futile, unless, as the goal of it all, there is an end which is an end in itself. All our ambitions are without real value apart from such a goal: as ends they are only of worth if they are in a true sense contributory ends. And this certainly is no artificial problem which Christianity has brought to us. It is essentially a problem involved in man's very nature. If we believe in the existence or the possibility of an 'end' for life at all, which many of us will surely continue to do in spite of the persuasive teaching of M. Bergson, we cannot get behind that old definition of the 'good' as 'that end to which all things are directed.' It is that, the taking away of which would immediately render all life purposeless. and the restoration of which would give a real value to each least aim, to each slight ambition, as contributory to that end which is the final end in which the purpose and meaning of life is summed up. The existence or nonexistence of such a real end for man's life seems to be of vital concern to every human being. Without it our life must be at best but an idle sport, a thing utterly futile and vain. It is only because we do consciously or unconsciously assume that there is such an end, such a purpose at the basis of life, that we can live a life that is worth living at all. Therefore, surely it may be said that the need of an end that is an end in itself sufficient to give value to all life, is one need, or one aspect of the need, which is inherent in the constitution of man's being. Here is a need which whatever claims to be a gospel for mankind must meet.

Then, again, there is another aspect of human need on

which I wish to touch. The need of an end and purpose for life is one which would be vital to man at his highest and best. Were he fulfilling his own highest life he would still have that need. But that which is felt to give rise to another fundamental need in human nature is the universal failure to attain to the capacities of our own being. Each is conscious that he has in some sense capacity which he yet cannot fulfil or realize. The personality of each is in large measure an unrealized thing. Each feels that that which it would be to be himself is something very different from that which he himself is, and yet none the less he feels that it is that which he ought to be, and that he cannot in the very nature of his being be satisfied with anything less. This then is another need or another aspect of the same need. Here is something which the very constitution and being of man seems to demand. This is his need. Anything which will claim to be an answer to the problem of human life must in some way correspond to that need. It can only be an answer by meeting and in some way satisfying the need. Such seem to us to be two essential needs, or rather two aspects of the one essential need inherent in human nature. There may be, rather there must be, countless other aspects. The paths to the same centre are infinite as the infinitely varied points from which one approaches. But the two aspects referred to will be enough, more than enough, for the present purpose. That which would be an answer to both these would require to include all life, every life and every part of life. To supply to life a sufficient end that should give value to every life at its highest and best, and to enable each life to realize itself at its highest and best, would be indeed 'good news' for mankind. That and that alone would be accepted as a true 'gospel' for men.

The question then arises: how does the teaching of Christ meet these needs? The answer must depend upon the interpretation which we put upon the teaching or the work of Christ as a whole, and in this connexion I propose first of all to say something about that interpretation which has in recent years been put forward so forcibly by

Schweitzer and which has given rise to so much controversy. This interpretation, as is well known, is essentially apocalyptic and eschatological. Those passages in the Gospels which speak of the Son of Man as about to return shortly in glory to usher in a Messianic reign upon earth, instead of presenting difficulties which must somehow be harmonized with the rest of the narrative, are in this view the very heart and centre of the whole, and themselves afford the clue to all the rest.

Before, however, attempting to criticize Schweitzer's interpretation, there are two points to which I should like to draw attention as shewing the point of view from which he approaches the problem.

First of all, it is important to note that his interpretation is professedly based upon the Synoptic Gospels. While not necessarily accepting every word or every incident as accurately representing what was said or took place, he does take the record of the first three Gospels as a whole as being a true history and fairly portraying incidents in the life of Jesus. Reasons must be shewn for disallowing any particular narratives, and, subject to this, the whole is accepted as substantially a true account of the life of our Lord upon earth. Schweitzer is indeed disposed to dispute the supremacy which has of late been assigned to St. Mark's Gospel, and it is perhaps not unnatural that he should seem to incline rather in favour of St. Matthew, in whose Gospel we find especial prominence given to the idea of the Messiahship and the declaration of the advent of the Messianic kingdom. But, speaking generally, he bases his interpretation upon the first three Evangelists. He claims to set before us the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels.

The second point to be observed is that Schweitzer himself maintains that, taking the Synoptic record as we find it, we must ourselves supply the connecting thread. In order to understand the various incidents in their relation to one another and to the whole, we must bring to the narrative some theory of the Messiahship and that closely connected idea of the Kingdom of God. Our theory, whatever it may be, must no doubt be gathered from the narrative and must

always be tested by its being, or not being, in harmony with the incidents of the record. But yet it must be recognized that the connecting thread is not expressly set forth in the narrative. We find at the beginning an announcement of the near approach of the Kingdom of God. We find, as we go further, Jesus undoubtedly claiming to be the Messiah, and vet, so far from proclaiming the fact openly, He apparently endeavours to keep the fact secret. But what is really signified by the term 'the Kingdom of God' and in what sense He claims the Messiahship—this we are left to gather for ourselves. We must form some conception of this in order to supply the connecting link which gives coherence to the whole narrative. According to our conception of this must be our interpretation of the whole life and work of Christ. Schweitzer in an early part of his book states the problem as being 'to express the whole in terms of His Messianic consciousness' or in somewhat similar words. This seems a perfectly intelligible and suggestive way of approaching the subject. But it must be borne in mind, when criticizing the different interpretations of Schweitzer and his opponents. Starting from his premises it is no answer to say that either side is reading into the narrative much more than is actually expressed. Schweitzer, if I understand him rightly, would not allow this to be any valid objection to his interpretation, and in the same way he must not raise any such objection to the view of his opponents. The true test of either must be, whether the interpretation offered gives a natural and consistent explanation of the parts so that all fall into their places as contributing to an harmonious whole. The proof that we hold the right key must be that it unfastens the lock, which we vainly try to force with any other.

So much by way of preliminary observation. We come then to the contents of Schweitzer's interpretation. This, so far as I understand it, may in rough outline be described as follows:—The central figure of the Gospel narrative is not primarily a teacher at all. He stands out as a national hero. He comes proclaiming the advent of the Kingdom of God, of the Messianic age, which shall suddenly be

revealed, bringing to an end the present age or order of things upon earth, and establishing an entirely new order which shall be the triumphant vindicating of Jehovah and the setting up of the kingdom of the Messiah in which those who have previously acknowledged the Messiah, or the Son of Man, and abandoned for His sake all earthly gain, shall have their share. This apocalyptic catastrophe Jesus proclaims under the name of the Kingdom of God. This and the triumphant revelation of the Messiah are closely connected. Jesus is conscious, or becomes conscious, that He is Himself the Messiah, or perhaps, rather, that He Himself will be the Messiah, but He wishes this in the meantime to be kept secret. He does not even reveal the fact to the band of disciples whom He has gathered round Him. He sends them out, not to teach but to proclaim that the Kingdom is at hand, and He is satisfied that by, or during, such proclamation the end will come and that before they have been through all the cities of Israel with the message, the Messianic age will have actually commenced. That this did not prove to be the case, at once disappointed. and gave a new direction to. His expectations. He realizes that the mere proclamation is not sufficient, and that the only way to bring about the Coming is by His deliberately giving Himself up to die; and He determines to go up to Ierusalem for this very purpose. Before this design is carried out, the Messianic secret, the fact that He is the Messiah (ὁ Χριστός), becomes known to three of His disciples in a state of trance on the Mount of Transfiguration, and subsequently (in this case Schweitzer considers the true order to have been transposed in the Synoptic narrative), at Caesarea Philippi, Peter impetuously, and against his Master's wish, divulges the secret which he had been charged to keep hidden. The fact thus becomes known to all the disciples, including Judas. Jesus then goes up to Jerusalem, not to teach but deliberately to provoke the authorities to put Him to death. The actual arrest and condemnation are in fact brought about by the act of Judas, who betrays the Messianic secret to the chief priests and scribes and so gives them a ground for putting Him to death. There is, however, at the trial difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence of the claim to be the Messiah, and consequently the authorities first of all endeavour to get Him condemned on other grounds, and only when this attempt fails does the High Priest put the question directly to the Accused: 'Art Thou the Christ?' and thus by obtaining an open confession render further evidence unnecessary. The desired result is brought about in this way and Iesus is condemned and put to death. Such in barest outline is the development of events down to the crucifixion according to Schweitzer's reading of the history, and in such reading the real teaching of Jesus is of the simplest. This is practically summed up in the one injunction: 'Give up all and follow Me.' The present age, and all that belongs to it, is of no real importance: what is of importance is the new order of things, the Messianic age, which is shortly about to be revealed, when the Son of Man (the Messiah) shall return to earth in glory and His Kingdom be triumphantly established. 'Give up all and follow Me.' That is all that really matters. That alone is the essential teaching. All else is to be understood as being merely 'Interim Ethics,' incidental injunctions as to how those expecting the new age should act in the short interval before that age is established.

I should, however, be giving a very unfair account of Schweitzer's interpretation, if I did not also recognize the enormous importance which he attaches to the idea of 'the present living Christ.' This conviction it is which to him gives value to the historic life. All that men have since learnt, and are still learning, to find in Christianity is the direct teaching of Christ now living and working in the present, continually speaking to and through men. It is this conviction, together with the one injunction of his historic Christ 'Give up all and follow Me,' which constitutes for Schweitzer the essence of Christianity for men to-day, and we can scarcely help feeling that criticism of his interpretation of the Gospel narrative stands disarmed before the book is closed. We must feel, as we read the last chapter, that, whether his reading of the history be

right or wrong, however he has arrived at his convictions, he has somehow penetrated to the very essence of Christianity.

Such is the feeling that comes to us as we read Schweitzer's book to the end; but nevertheless we are bound to consider critically his interpretation of the narrative. and it is with that only that I am now concerned. Here is a reading of the Life which differs essentially from that to which most of us have been accustomed. If it is the true reading, then we must reconstruct our view of the Christ and of His teaching. We must revise from top to bottom our whole view of life. For, if it be true, then the only right attitude to the world around us would seem to be one of absolute renunciation. There can be little doubt that there are, as has been said, many apocalyptic souls to whom such a view appeals with tremendous power. They feel that all the true value of life is not in the visible and outward, not in the material world, but in another order of being that is invisible and spiritual. And can we doubt that this conviction finds such hold in the hearts of men because it is true? It is not because we do not feel the enormous attraction of such a conception, that we cannot accept it as a complete view of life. If the two are opposed, then we must cling to the divine and spiritual, and let go the secular and material. And this would indeed seem the highest and truest in life, if we did not believe that, by the fact of the Incarnation, God Himself had made the amazing revelation that the divine was to be found, not by standing aside from the common life of the world, but inherent in and through that common life: that for man the divine was to be found in the human, the eternal in the actual, the highest and noblest in the meanest and the least.

But the interpretation of Schweitzer is apocalyptic—is essentially world-renouncing. The question is 'Is it the true interpretation or not?' We have already indicated what the test must be, and that test seems to be fatal to regarding Schweitzer's interpretation as being, that which he in fact claims for it, a full and complete, and the only right,

interpretation of the earthly life of Christ. As one aspect of a many-sided whole and as helping to contribute to a more complete view, we would gladly welcome it; but when it is claimed for it that it is the whole, we cannot concede such a claim. For when we look away from the figure which Schweitzer sets before us, and turn back again to the Synoptic Gospels, on which it professes to be based, we feel that that figure is not the Christ of the Synoptists. It is not merely that there are various sayings and doings which it would be hard to reconcile with such a view, but rather that the Christ of, say, St. Mark is far too intimately connected with the common life of ordinary human beings. He seems to care for their sorrows and to share in their joys in a way that one, whose whole teaching was that the present age was soon to be swept utterly away, and that the things of the world were of no account and to be absolutely renounced, could never have done. One of whom it could be said as a summary of His life on earth, that 'He went about doing good and healing all them that were oppressed by the devil,' can hardly be solely the apocalyptic hero of Schweitzer. Apart from any question of supernatural power, it must surely be allowed, if we take the Synoptic Gospels as our sources at all, that much of His life was taken up with the healing of the sick and disordered. and the restoring them to participation in the common human life of the world around them. That this should be so seems a strange contradiction, if we are to see in Jesus nothing but the uncompromising apocalyptic figure which Schweitzer portrays.

As a complete interpretation, then, we cannot accept this reading. None the less, as contributing to a fuller view, we welcome it. Perhaps there are particularly two aspects which Schweitzer has brought out strongly, that it is well to have emphasized, and which some of us, approaching the narrative from another side, may have been inclined to overlook. First, we must recognize how largely, at least in form, the teaching of Jesus is influenced by apocalyptic ideas of the time. It is essentially cast in an apocalyptic mould. It may be, and probably is, something much more

than form, but at the least the apocalyptic form is something which must be taken into account and find its full recognition in any interpretation of the Life.

Secondly, Schweitzer has recalled to us, what we are only too much inclined to forget, the absolute and uncompromising character of the claim made by Christ upon His followers. Whatever it was to which He called them, at least that call must be paramount. Whether His meaning was that His followers should renounce the ordinary life of the world, or not, at any rate those who heard and understood His call must obey it without any reservation. Whatever interfered with that summons must be relentlessly abandoned. In a very real sense they must give up all and follow Him. No interpretation can be true to the Gospel records which does not recognize as fundamental the call to absolute surrender.

So here we must leave the question of Schweitzer's interpretation and return to the more general problem with which we started. It will be remembered that at the beginning we considered something of what was implied in the claim of the teaching of Christ to be a 'Gospel' for mankind. This seemed to imply a claim to be an answer to a need or needs pre-existing in the very constitution of man's being. We then considered one or two aspects of that need, which anything claiming to be indeed a Gospel for mankind must it seemed in some way satisfy. We were then to come to the teaching of Christ and see whether it does, or does not, throw light upon these problems of human life. And so, first of all, we considered the interpretation of Schweitzer and the 'thorough-going eschatologists' to see whether this was indeed the true reading of the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels. And now, having said that we cannot accept that interpretation, we come back to consider how the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels, as we read the narrative, deals with these problems of human life, with these needs which seem inherent in the very being of man.

Now there would seem little doubt that any interpretation of the life and teaching of Christ must centre upon the significance of the term 'the Kingdom of God.' At the very outset of His public ministry He stands forth proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom of God, and this phrase seems throughout to be used as a term which sums up all that which it was His life's work and purpose to bring to men. It may almost be said that all that follows is but an expansion and interpretation of that first announcement— $\mathring{\eta}\gamma\gamma\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu$   $\mathring{\eta}$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\tauo\hat{\nu}$   $\Theta\epsilon o\hat{\nu}$ , the Kingdom of God is at hand.

Taking then the term 'the Kingdom of God,' may we not seek for the interpretation along two lines: first, that of its intrinsic meaning, and, secondly, that of its meaning of association? And of these two the second is probably far the more important. We may perhaps say that Jesus adopted the term on the ground of its meaning of association, but that He would not so have adopted it if it had not

in some way been intrinsically appropriate.

It is, of course, well known that a whole body of apocalyptic literature and of ideas current among the Jews had gathered around the expectation of a Messiah and a Messianic kingdom. These appear to have been intimately associated with the term 'the Kingdom of God,' a term which Jesus did not originate, but adopted as one of recognized, though probably more or less undefined, signification. Our Lord, then, at the outset of His public life, about to begin His work and to deliver His message, finds a people for whom all their highest aspirations for their nation and for themselves are bound up with the idea of a Messianic Kingdom, with the expectation of 'the Kingdom of God.' Now, supposing He is conscious that that which He brings to them. that good thing which He has to impart to them, is in fact the true end and satisfaction of all their highest aspirations, of all those longings, of the meaning and depth of which they are but dimly conscious, but which for them are intimately bound up with, and centred around, the Messianic hope, two courses would be open to Him. The form of their expectation is so largely misconceived, but the expectation itself is right in essence. Either, therefore, He must denounce their whole conception and substitute for it an altogether different and truer ideal, or again, He may adopt that conception for the truth which it embodies, proceeding to purify it of all that is unworthy and accidental and to develop the true ideal which is enshrined within it. Can we be surprised, if of these two He should choose the second course? Is it not quite in harmony with His methods that He should deliberately have associated His teaching with that which was already accepted, the new and unknown with the old and familiar, that He should adopt an already current term which meant so much to those to whom He came, that He should adopt this term and fill it with a new and larger content?

On our present supposition then—and I want to make it clear that at present it is merely a supposition and one which can only be justified if it proves on investigation to harmonize with the facts—Jesus, coming to a people whose highest hopes and aspirations, religious, national, and individual, are associated with the idea of a Messianic Kingdom, the Kingdom of God, Himself knowing that what He brings to men is in fact that which all those hopes and aspirations are feeling after, that which is in reality the satisfaction of man's deepest needs, adopts the term 'the Kingdom of God' as most readily representing for them the true end or goal of all that was highest and noblest within them. Let them know that that after which they had been yearning was indeed a reality, that it was no longer a far off vision, but was brought near into their very lives. If only they will believe it, the Kingdom of God has indeed come nigh.

On this supposition, then, the form of the announcement was essentially relative to the circumstances and ideas of the time in which, and the people to whom, it was made. It is the announcement in the form in which His hearers can understand it, of what to a people of another training would, perhaps, have been best represented as the good  $(\tau \delta \ \dot{\alpha} \gamma a \theta \delta v)$ . That is to say, while the form of the term 'the Kingdom of God' is adopted, because for the immediate hearers it summed up all that was best and highest in their hopes and aspirations for their nation and for themselves, the thing itself was something far larger and more comprehensive than

their idea of a Messianic Kingdom, being nothing else than the answer to the problem of human life, the satisfaction of all that which, under different forms and expressed in different terms, man has always been groping after, that which is the true end of his highest hopes and aspirations as a spiritual being.

Let me admit again that this is merely an hypothesis. If it be one which has in fact been held by the followers of Christ throughout all the centuries, it is none the worse for that. But I do not wish for a moment to appeal to this consensus of opinion as being any justification for the hypothesis. As indicated above, the justification (if any) must be, and can only be, in the consistency which the theory gives to the interpretation of the whole. Its verification or its refutation must depend upon the patient study of the narrative, of the Life as a whole, so far as we are able to ascertain it, and of the separate parts in relation to the whole. It cannot be supported, nor yet refuted, by isolated sayings or instances. The only test must be: Does it, or does it not, give an intelligible unity to the whole?

From what has just been said, it will be clear that it would be impossible really to justify in an article of this kind the hypothesis which has been outlined. The method by which alone it can be verified or condemned is one which each must apply for himself. All that I propose to do here is to touch upon certain elements or characteristics which we see in the Life, as recorded in our earliest and simplest Synoptic Gospel, that seem to find their interpretation most naturally in the light of this hypothesis; and it will necessarily follow that, in noting such characteristics as a test of our hypothesis, we shall at the same time be forwarding the main subject of the article in another way. So far, it has only been put forward as an hypothesis that that which Christ brought to men and announced under the title of 'the Kingdom of God' was, in fact, an answer to a need or needs which lie at the very root of man's being. nothing has been said as to the content of that answer. What, or of what nature, was that which He offered to man as the satisfaction of his deepest need, the fulfilment and

realization of his highest hopes and aspirations? Now, if the practical problem of philosophy is to find an answer to the questions 'What is the highest end in life, or the highest kind of life? and how are we to seek to attain it for ourselves and for others?' then, if the view which we have outlined is justified, that which Christ brought to man was, in fact, an answer to that problem, and in considering some characteristics of the life and teaching of the Master we shall be led to form some idea as to what was the content or nature of the answer which He offers, while at the same time we shall be applying the severest test to our hypothesis.

We turn then to the Synoptic record of the Life of Christ upon earth, and in order to come as near as possible to historical fact, as distinguished from interpretation, I shall endeavour to confine myself almost entirely to the picture given to us by St. Mark as being the earliest and least developed of our Synoptic Gospels, as having the least of interpretation. It is not, of course, that I suppose that presentation to be complete and adequate, but that, so far as it takes us, it does seem to bring us nearer than any other to a plain unembellished narrative of fact. There, if anywhere, we seem to find a view (partial though it be) of the historic Jesus.

Taking then St. Mark's account of the Life of Christ, and trying to come to it as to something new and unknown, exercising that difficult art of forgetting, and laying aside, so far as may be, all preconceived ideas, we must, as it were, follow in the crowd that gathers at the report that a new Prophet has arisen, and drawing near to ascertain what it is which He offers, what is His message, we must take note both of His words and His actions, of what He teaches and of what He does.

Considering first then what He does, the most obvious feature seems to be the fact, already referred to, that so much of His time and thought are expended upon the healing of the sick, upon restoring the disordered in body or mind to health and strength—to the fulness of ordinary human life. This, at any rate, is an aspect which has to be taken into account.

Now what is the meaning of this? What, we ask, is the place of these acts of healing in the whole life-work of the Master? And I believe that the more we study the Life as a whole and study these acts of healing in connexion with the whole Life, the more we shall feel convinced that they were in themselves an integral part of His life-work. They were not merely isolated acts of compassion unconnected with His main purpose. They were not mere signs of power, credentials of divine authority. Again, they were not simply a method of approach to draw together listeners to hear His message. They are not even merely parables in action, rescuing sufferers from bodily and mental disease as illustrating the way in which He will rescue souls from spiritual disease. They are, perhaps, in part all these things, but they are much more. They are not merely accessory and preliminary to His main life-work, but in themselves they are part of the main work and purpose of His life. The Teacher (if our reading is correct), in proclaiming to men the fulfilment of their highest hopes and aspirations, comes to assure to each that which is the realization of his own highest life. What He proclaims is indeed a deliverance from oppression and tyranny, but the deliverance is not, as the Jews had naturally imagined, from a foreign voke, but from that which He saw to be a far more real oppression and tyranny. He sees men suffering from evil in its various forms, physical, mental, and moral; and to Him these are not unconnected, but are all forms of tyranny over man coming from the same source, the same forces or powers of evil affecting man in all the various parts of his being. The Master, whether by way of accommodation to current ideas or otherwise, represents these forces as the working of a personal being of the Evil One. Man is found to be subject to the tyranny of this power, which is in every sphere impeding him and preventing him from realizing his own true life. It is from this tyranny exerted alike over his body, his mind, and his spiritual nature, that Christ comes to deliver man. He comes to declare, and to bring about, the triumph of good over evil, of order over disorder, of the Kingdom of God over the Kingdom of the Evil One. And if this is so, it is seen at once that the acts of healing are intimately connected with His whole work and purpose. He is come to rescue man and his whole being from the tyranny of the Evil One that oppresses him, to set him free to live his own true life. And here, in these acts of healing, He joins battle with the enemy in one part of the conflict. In the lowest sphere He meets and ousts the foe. He delivers man from that tyranny as it affects his physical life, a deliverance which is in itself a gain and is at the same time a pledge of complete triumph in every sphere hereafter.

Enough has been said to indicate generally what we understand to be the place of the acts of healing in our Lord's ministry, and how the fact of His giving so much care and thought to the healing of disease harmonizes with, and so far bears out, the interpretation of the ministry as a whole, which has been stated above as a tentative hypothesis. But we must turn now from His acts to His

teaching.

Directing our attention again to St. Mark's account, we note that there is in this narrative comparatively little in the way of discourse, and practically none which is not contained in at least one other Synoptic Gospel. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to infer that the few discourses which are included in this simplest record were regarded by disciples at a short period after the close of the Ministry as being cardinal. At any rate we may surely claim for the discourse which follows the recognition of the Master as the Messiah and His acceptance of the title, that it is so cardinal and represents an essential element in His teaching. Now, looking at this discourse and the teaching it contains, may we not say that in it our Lord gives His answer to the question-What is the highest good for man, what is that pearl of greatest price for which in the last resort absolutely everything else must be sacrificed? And it is noticeable that, as is so often the case, He does not make known some startlingly new discovery: rather He adopts and ratifies an instinctive feeling which man had felt before. But, in adopting it, He fills it with a new content. 'What shall a

man give,' He cries, 'in exchange for his ψυχή?' Now what is meant here by the word ψυχή? Obviously it can be used in different senses and with varying shades of meaning. But, surely here, if anywhere, it must be used in its fullest and highest sense. It is the life of the man, not in the sense of a period of existence but of his very central being and existence itself, that which constitutes his self, his personality. That personality or self-consciousness our Lord seems to say is for each man the ultimate fact, and in so saying He gives His sanction to that which man had before felt to be so. He recognizes that it is the realization of the self for which man is, and always has been, craving. Only, left to himself, he seeks in a wrong way. That which Christ has come to do for him is to shew him how to realize that which it is in the very nature of his being to feel that he must realize, but which all his own attempts to realize prove vain: 'He which loveth his life shall lose it. He which loseth his life. . . .' not shall find something different and better, but shall find in fact that very thing which he has surrendered, that very thing which, so long as he refused to surrender it, he inevitably lost.

So then, as we understand it, our Lord lays down as the highest good for every man, not some entirely new end undreamed of before. Rather, He claims to shew to men how that end, which had before been recognized as such, may in fact be attained, how each man may realize his own self, all those capacities of which he is dimly conscious and to realize which would be to fulfil his own personality. He claims to enable man to live his own highest and best life, to enable each to realize himself.

As supporting the view that the development of personality, the realization of the true self, was really central in the teaching of the Master, I would just refer to another discourse included in St. Mark's record, that which follows the complaint of His disciples not observing the ceremonial requirements as to washing before eating. It will be remembered that there, instead of merely pointing out, as we might have anticipated, that such matters were of minor

importance, our Lord uses the occasion to lay down certain far-reaching principles as to transgressions of law and moral offences. And it is remarkable how in the ethical principles which He there lays down, all centres round the idea of the self. From the self-consciousness of the doer every form of moral evil takes its origin—and it is upon that self-consciousness, the personality of the doer, that the moral evil has its real effect. All the worst forms of crime are denounced, not because of the harm and injury which they do to others, but because of the irreparable injury done to the self of the wrong-doer, so that all wrong-doing finds at once its real source and its real effect in the self-consciousness of the wrong-doer.

I have, of course, only touched upon two discourses, because they happen to be more or less explicitly in point. But my belief is that, as we study the teaching of our Lord as a whole, we shall find more and more how essential in that teaching is the idea of the importance of the development of the unique personality of every human being. It is, no doubt, only one way of looking at the work of the Master, but nevertheless, it is not only true, but essentially fundamental, that His purpose from beginning to end is to enable man to live his own highest life and to rescue him from all that prevents him from realizing his true self.

So far, then, I have tried to shew that the teaching of Christ is not concerned merely with supplying answers to problems which it has itself first raised, but that it does in fact claim to furnish an answer to that problem of life which, in its many aspects, lies at the very basis of man's being; that it claims to be an answer to that need, or to those needs, with which, quite apart from religion of any sort, man as man necessarily finds himself confronted. The purpose or end, then, of the teaching and work of Christ was, as we understand it, to enable man, and every man, to live his own highest life, to realize his true self. But the question of course is, how was this to be done? And here we must recognize that there is room for very different views. The work and teaching of Christ is so wide-embracing,

so many-sided, that it admits of such different interpretations. Probably many who admit the end will disagree entirely as to the means. It was, they agree, to enable man to live his own highest life: for that He came, that was essentially the good thing which He brought to man; but this, they will urge, was to be attained by absolute renunciation of the world, by complete surrender of all that pertains to this present age. I have already indicated that I cannot agree with this interpretation. I cannot here substantiate the view that it was not by withdrawing from the common life of the world, but in and through that common life, that Christ taught us to seek to realize ourselves. It can, as I have insisted, only be by careful study of the Life as a whole, of what He did and what He taught, that we can really test any interpretation. All I can hope to do in bringing this article to a close is to state a few of the principles as to method which we seem to find indicated in His dealings with men, alike in what He did and what He taught. If the purpose of Jesus was to enable man, and each man, to realize his own highest life, his true self, how did He seek to effect this then? How does He teach that it is to be effected now?

In the first place, we must notice how He recognized the existence and value of the true self in every human being, however low or degraded, and sought to make the man himself recognize it and believe in it. Again and again we see Him confronted with that saddest of all sights, the wreck of a personality, man utterly debased and with disordered mind, one whose state was then described as being in (the power of) an unclean spirit. Even in such our Lord recognizes that the true self is still there and is still of infinite value, if only it can be drawn out and realized. We are reminded of the lines of Tennyson:

'As when a painter, poring on a face, Divinely, through all hindrance, finds the man Behind it . . .'

Even so, through all hindrance, through all the encumbrance that hampers and clogs it, He recognizes the real personality of the man, the true self. His first endeavour is to make the man himself recognize it too. The man has come to identify with himself the very evil which is choking the real self, but Christ refuses so to identify the man with the evil. He still sees through all the outward wreck the thing of value that lies buried beneath. The true self still exists, is still of infinite worth. To inspire the man himself with a belief in his own true self and a sense of its value is the first step towards enabling him to live the full life which God meant him to live, to find his own personality, to realize himself.

In the second place, it is noticeable that our Lord's method of treatment, as being essentially personal, is infinitely various. He has no stereotyped régime. The aim in dealing with each is to draw out and to develop the personality, just that central consciousness in which the man differs from every other being, and of which the needs and mode of development must be in some sense unique. it is, that we find the Master dealing individually with each case, calling upon some to give up their ordinary occupations, while to others He gives no such injunction. In fact, the command 'Give up all and follow Me' in the literal sense of the term is far from being, as Schweitzer would have it, a universal imperative, applied indifferently to all. Christ has no such uniform method. To one man He says 'Go sell all that thou hast and come and follow Me.' Another, who longed to come away and follow Him, He meets with an absolute refusal and the command 'Go to thine own home and to thine own people.' Men seem to be treated by Him so differently, and we are inclined to marvel at the apparent disproportion of sacrifice laid upon one as compared with another, until we realize that beneath all the difference there is one guiding principle, that it is all a matter of personality. There can be no stereotyped method of treatment. Each must be called to just that life and those circumstances which are best fitted to enable that which is in him of greatest value to be developed, to enable that man to realize his true self.

Thirdly, although the method of discipline is infinitely

varied, or perhaps we should say because it is so, for the most the way would seem to lie amid the circumstances of ordinary life. Some the Master did assuredly summon to come away, to break with their home and their occupation, and to join the immediate band of disciples which accompanied Him as He went about; but to most of those whom He healed of diseases, physical or mental, He seems to have given no such command, but rather to have sent them back to their homes, back to the particular circumstances of the common life of each. It would seem as if that injunction to the restored demoniac: 'Go to thine own home and to thine own people' represented the normal treatment, rather than the counsel given to the Rich Man: 'Go sell all that thou hast and come and follow Me.' And how significant was that reply to the Gadarene, how contrary to what we might have expected! Here is one bound to the Master by ties of gratitude, anxious to be allowed to devote himself entirely to His service, to come away and follow Him. And the request is so natural. It is not merely that he is filled with gratitude, that he feels that he owes all to the Prophet who has restored him to the possibility of living a human life. Besides all that, he recognizes that here is the source and spring of his new life and he longs to cling to that. If he can live in the presence and beneath the eye of the Healer, he feels sure of the continuance of that new life which has opened to him. But if he goes away and returns to the numbing influences of common life, there is fear of his slipping back into his old disordered state. Surely the request, so enthusiastic, and so natural, comes from that which is best in the man, and surely the Teacher will so recognize it and readily accept his allegiance. But no. Go back to thine own home and to thine own people. There, in the circumstances of the ordinary life to which you are called, there is your place. There, where the conflict will be the hardest, where there will be the danger of the old temptations, the old difficulties to be encountered, there, and only there, can the victory be won, only so can the man learn to live his own fullest life, to realize his own personality.

And does not this request of the Gadarene correspond very much with a feeling that many of us must often have? We recognize that that which is best in us is the spiritual nature which is akin to, and craves for, the divine. We find the things of the material order, the things of the world. continually clogging and impeding this spiritual nature: and realizing this, and the conflict that is between the two. we long to be set free to realize that life of the spirit without the shackles and hindrances of the world and of the body: or, if that cannot wholly be, at least, so far as possible, to renounce the things of the world and give ourselves up, so far as may be, and gradually more and more, to the life of the spirit. We know that the things which are seen are temporal and the things which are not seen are eternal. and long that we could give up the former if only we can thereby secure the latter—surely that were the way to achieve true life. How strongly such an idea appeals, and appeals to that which is best in us! But to most of us, as I believe, the answer of the Master is as of old; Go back to thine own house and to thine own friends. Back to your ordinary occupations, the circumstances of the common life of the work-a-day world. It is in the struggle with the bars and fetters of the common life that the personality shall be developed, that the realization of the self is alone possible.

Fourthly (and this is the last point that I shall touch upon) there is the element of sacrifice, and any interpretation whatever must certainly recognize this as essential and fundamental in the teaching of Christ. We have seen that the command 'Give up all and follow Me,' at least as interpreted by Schweitzer, is far from being the simple rule of universal application which he would represent it to be. And yet none the less: 'If any man will come after Me let him deny himself and take up his cross' and then 'let him follow Me.' There is the call to surrender. The challenge is uncompromising and the surrender required is absolute. But—and here is where, as it would seem, the difference of interpretation lies—the surrender, as we understand it, is to be in the plane of being rather than in that of having, or even

of doing. That which the disciple is called upon to surrender is something much more than the dearest thing which he owns. We have seen that man had instinctively felt, and Christ confirmed the conviction, that the most precious thing to man, his one priceless possession, that for which it was worth while to let go if need be absolutely everything else, that for the loss of which not the whole world could compensate him, was that which constituted his inmost being. his selfhood, his personality. And now we find that it is nothing less than this which Christ calls upon the would-be disciple to give up. And the surrender must be absolute and without any kind of reservation, must be such that, if the trust in the Master, who makes the demand, should prove mistaken, absolutely everything will have been lost. So and only so, incredible as the paradox must seem, if we were not accustomed to it by familiarity, and, what is more important, if we did not find its truth continually borne out in actual life—so and only so can the end, the realization of the self, the true personality, be attained. We may recall the saying of Carlyle, quoted by Mr. A. C. Benson in a fine passage in his 'Ruskin, a Study in Personality:' 'Depend upon it, the brave man must somehow give his life away.' The attempt to develop the self in isolation is doomed to failure. We naturally cling to the self as distinct from all that is outside it. We would fain hold it as a citadel against all assault. And yet now we are called upon to yield up absolutely that most precious possession of all, to let it go out of our own hands, and from our own control, so that that of which the very being seemed to consist in its being free and uncontrolled, shall become absolutely subject to the control of a greater personality. So that the self, as an isolated self, shall indeed cease to exist. This alone is the means whereby the end, the realization of the self, is to be attained. It is only through the death of the self that the self can find its own true life. 'He that loveth his life shall lose it, he that loseth his life for My sake . . . shall find it.'

The sacrifice, the surrender, which Christ calls upon men to make is nothing less than this. This is what He requires them to do, and we know from experience that this is just what we will not do, what it almost seems as if we cannot do. To give up anything that belongs to us, all that belongs to us. would seem insignificant compared to this. To have given up everything that belonged to us might still leave us far away from this. But to give up the separate life of the self altogether is to give up that which forms the very worth of our being; nay, it is to give up what essentially is our being. It is nothing less than the death of the self, and from this our whole natural instinct is to shrink away. And yet we are assured, and we are in some sense conscious of it, even while we so shrink from making the surrender, that it is in so losing itself, and only so, that the true self will find that realization, after which it all along was craving. In ceasing to exist as an isolated self, and being, as it were, incorporated into, and made at one with, a larger self-centre, an infinite Being, it shall not be merely absorbed or extinguished. Were the surrender completely made, were the self completely become one with that greater Self, then, as John Caird puts it: 'Every pulse-beat should be an expression and realization of the life of God.' And yet at the same time it should be indeed, for that very reason, the expression and realization of the true life of the man. Each shall still exist as a conscious self, but a self realizing its own true life, not as an isolated entity, but in and through the vaster, the infinite, life of which it partakes. 'He that loseth his life . . . the same shall find it.'

To sum up: We maintain that Christianity is not concerned merely with satisfying needs which it has itself first aroused. The teaching of Christ claims to be an answer, or rather the answer, to problems which are inherent in the being of man as man, which are felt and recognized by man quite independently of religion, to the existence of which all religions and philosophies have borne witness, to which they have been directed. With these fundamental problems, if it is indeed good news for mankind, the teaching of Christ must surely deal. To see whether this is so, whether it is concerned with the 'end,' the 'highest good' of human life, we have turned to the earliest, the least developed, form of Gospel record, that which is largely a

record of fact and contains least of discourse and least of interpretation; and our contention is that, underlying even this simplest narrative, we find a whole philosophy of life. We have seen that, as so interpreted, from the particular point of view from which we have approached the subject and it is certainly only one aspect—the purpose and work of Christ would seem to be to enable man, and each man, to live his own life at its highest and best, to restore to each the possibility of realizing all the capacities of his own personality, of finding his true self. And as to the means, as I understand it, this is to be achieved for the most not by world-renunciation, but amid the circumstances and environment of the common life of the world. But, while this is so. it can be by no easy path, but only by the way of absolute surrender of the self, so that the self shall cease to exist as an isolated self, and shall become incorporated into a larger life of which it partakes. So, and only so, shall the true self of each find its realization and expression in realizing and expressing the life of God.

G. C. Bosanquet.

# ART. VIII.—THE CANADIAN UNITY PROPOSALS.

- I. Journal of Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, held in 1911. [Containing the Constitution and Canons of the General Synod.] (Toronto: the Bryant Press. 1912.)
- 2. Report of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada for 1912. (Toronto: by the Society, Confederation Life Building. 1913.)
- 3. From Sea to Sea. By the Rev. L. N. TUCKER. Issued by the Prayer and Study Union of the Missionary Society. (Toronto: by the Society, Confederation Life Building. 1911.)
- 4. An Appeal on Behalf of Christian Unity. By the Revs.

H. P. PLUMPTRE, H. SYMONDS and others. (Toronto. 1912.)

5. Church Union. By S. H. BLAKE (Toronto). And other Pamphlets and Letters.

I.

THERE are several signs that the Church is at last beginning to take root on Canadian soil and develop an individuality of its own; for some years past we have been accustomed to look to the ranks of our own clergy to supply us with Bishops and other leaders; the appearance of a Canadian Hymnal, compiled and published by the authority of the General Synod, brought home to us all a sense that we belong to each other in one national organization; and this will soon be still further strengthened when the work of revising the Prayer Book is completed and the result is published. Moreover, it seems that the day is now upon us when we must try to think out our theological position for ourselves. Hitherto we have been content to follow the footsteps of the Church in England; but the very conditions which have up to the present made this the only possible course are now tending to press a difficult problem upon the daughter-Church before it is presented to the mother-Church. Because in a new country we feel the weight of tradition less heavily, and because, being unhampered by any connexion with the State, it is easier for us to move, the supporters of what are called the 'Canadian Unity Proposals' feel that a beginning should be made in Canada, and that then it may be easier to persuade the Church in England to adopt a similar policy. Accordingly, the Canadian Church is now being called upon for the first time to make up its mind for itself and reach its own decision upon a question of first-rate importance.

It is not, of course, an entirely new question: no theological problem ever is; but it is an old question in a new form and the changed conditions of the present have given it a fresh insistence. When the controversy between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism was first raised in England,

each side-or the protagonists on each side-believed that its own system of Church government stood revealed in Scripture as the will of God, and that therefore every other system was positively wrong. Being unable to exterminate each other, the two sides fell apart and a permanent division ensued. To-day the situation is much changed. No Presbyterian believes that his system alone is of divine obligation; and many Anglicans think that Episcopacy is one of several ways in which the Christian ministry may legitimately be organized. And since all alike earnestly desire some form of reunion, the question is being raised whether it is not possible for the Anglican Church to begin to move in the direction of some practical recognition of the ministries of the non-Episcopal Churches. The Canadian Unity Proposals consist of two steps towards this end which, it is suggested, might well be taken by the Church in Canada.

It is of some importance to note that no one cares very much about the Proposals taken by themselves; but everyone cares very much for Church unity; and we are asked to adopt them, not on their own intrinsic merits, but because it is said that they will make for unity. There is undoubtedly a large store of enthusiasm and spiritual power both in Canada and the United States waiting to be set free by the advent of Christian unity. In fact one may confidently expect that new schemes of unity will from time to time make their appearance on this side of the Atlantic. The present movement aroused great interest because it had some definite practical suggestions to make and, to those who are unfamiliar with the conditions of thought among Anglicans, it seemed to bespeak a change of mind on the part of those who are usually the last to change.

## II

The Proposals in question had their origin in some informal meetings to discuss Church unity in Toronto promoted by Canon Plumptre of St. James' Cathedral. As a result of these meetings, it seemed that the time was

ripe for a practical movement. During Lent 1911 a programme was drawn up with the assistance of Dr. Symonds, of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, who had for years been well known as a consistent and able advocate of the policy adopted. It took many months to work the Proposals into a shape satisfactory to all those who were interested, and it was not till the autumn of 1912 that anything was heard of them in public. At that time a circular letter, entitled 'An Appeal on behalf of Christian Unity,' signed by some thirty prominent clergy, was sent out to all priests and deacons in Canada. This letter expressed the belief that the cause of Christian Unity would be promoted by such practical steps as the two following:

- '(a) By the admission of ministers of other churches, under certain restrictions and by rightful authority, to the pulpits of our churches.
- '(b) By permission being given to members of other Communions—being members in good standing in their Communion—on occasion and with consent of the Ordinary, to communicate in our churches.'

The letter closed by expressing a 'desire to promote such legislation in our Synods as shall give effect to these acts of Christian courtesy and goodwill.' All the clergy were invited to signify their willingness to co-operate in this policy by adding their signatures to those already appended to the Appeal. As a result some three hundred signatures were sent in; many other clergymen are said to have been sympathetic, but were not in favour of agitation. Although the Appeal was not sent to the Bishops, one Bishop (Keewatin) signed it, and another (Saskatchewan) gave his warm approval.

The next step was to ascertain the attitude of the laity, and accordingly the Appeal was sent out to them early in 1913. It was, of course, impossible to reach everyone, but about a thousand laymen expressed their sympathy with the movement. As was to be expected, a strong opposition soon began to make itself felt. And this culminated in a public announcement made by the eleven

Bishops in Eastern Canada early in May 1913. The Bishops regretted the publication of the Appeal, thinking that it would hinder rather than promote the cause of real and lasting unity, and that its proposals would subvert the Church's historic order; and they urged their people not to act precipitately, lest, in coming closer to non-Episcopal Churches, they should find themselves farther away from the rest of the Anglican communion.

Within a few days after the appearance of this pastoral, the signatories of the Appeal met in Toronto and formed themselves into an organization called 'The Church Unity League.' At this meeting a cable was received from Lord Grey, recently Governor-General of Canada, sending his congratulations and best wishes, and a second cable to the same effect from 'The Churchmen's Union' of England. The objects of the League as defined in its constitution were set forth as follows:

'(I) To promote by all constitutional means the cause of Christian unity. (2) To examine and set forth by meetings, sermons, and literature, the grounds upon which our divisions rest, and to discover the lines of demarcation between those things that are always and everywhere essential, and those which are expedient.'

One is a little surprised to find no mention in the constitution of the two proposals of the original Appeal. This omission was no doubt a concession to the strength of the opposition which the movement aroused, and particularly to the advice of the Bishops. As the constitution stands at present, the League is committed to no one view of the ministry or of Church unity, nor has it any definite proposals or practical steps to suggest; any member of the Church in Canada is eligible for membership, no matter what his views are. Although this must be regarded as a change of front, still the intention is to use the League as a means of pushing the two original proposals and that view of Church unity which underlies them; unless Catholicminded Church people join it in considerable numbers, it will be a party organization, propagating its own party view of the ministry.

#### III

Although these suggestions have become known as the 'Canadian Unity Proposals,' it must not be supposed that they really represent the mind of the Canadian Church. The action of the Bishops in issuing a pronouncement against them reflects the real state of opinion. It must be remembered that the Bishops in Canada are elected by the diocesan Synods, and that a majority of not less than twothirds of the clergy and two-thirds of the laity, voting separately, is necessary for an election. Consequently, no one can be elected a Bishop who does not possess the confidence and esteem of the great bulk of the clergy and also of the active members of the laity. As a rule, our Bishops have won the respect and affection of their people, and their guidance in this matter will undoubtedly carry very great weight. Several diocesan Synods have passed resolutions against the proposals; and it is very doubtful whether, in Eastern Canada at least, a single Synod will be found to pronounce in their favour.

Another point should be noted also. The movement is not based upon any fresh and independent study of the theological issues at stake. An examination of the list of the original signatories of the Appeal shews that, out of thirty, twenty-five are busy parish priests, whose successful work is an indication that they have had no time to study the really voluminous literature in English, German, and French—to say nothing of the Fathers—which must be read and digested before one can hope to throw any fresh light upon this intricate and highly specialized subject. Of the other five, one is the headmaster of a successful boys' school, one is a professor in Toronto University, and three are connected with theological colleges; it does not appear, however, that any of these are experts in this particular branch of learning. The force behind the movement is not a fresh intellectual grappling with a difficult theological problem, but a special kind of temperament—the temperament which has all the fine qualities of generosity, warmheartedness, and enthusiasm, and couples with them an impatience of the slow and apparently fruitless methods of our present desultory discussion of Christian unity; the danger of standing still is keenly realized—more keenly than the danger of moving in the wrong direction.

The whole movement has aroused much opposition and criticism; but in one respect at least the criticism does not appear to be well founded. It has been said that in issuing a circular letter to the clergy and laity, the signatories of the Appeal have acted *ultra vires* and infringed upon the prerogatives of the Bishops. But the object of the circular letter was simply to obtain information: it would have been folly to disturb the Church with a movement of this kind unless there seemed to be some considerable support to be obtained for it; and if we are to have any freedom of speech, it is surely legitimate for anyone to ask his brethren what their opinions are.

On the other hand, one must question the wisdom of forming an organization to push these particular proposals. Things which numbers of Church people regard as of vital importance seem to be placed in jeopardy; a counter-organization may be considered necessary to protect them; and thus is opened up the distressing prospect of a Church divided into two camps each armed against the other. But there is reason to hope that wiser counsels will prevail, and that we shall not be compelled to witness this lamentable issue to a movement which claims to make for peace and unity. What is most needed at the present moment is not legislation, but information and education; and this can be done without creating partisan organizations.

### IV

The weak point about the movement is that it ignores differences of conviction which undoubtedly exist and which must be faced before any real progress towards unity is possible. As an attempt to bring two parties together, it can be successful only so long as they are kept in ignorance of each other's real convictions. On the one hand, if it

were agreed by all that the celebration of the Holy Eucharist should not be undertaken by any one but those who have been ordained by the historic order of Bishops, there would probably be no insuperable objection to the admission of Nonconformist ministers to preach in our churches, under certain restrictions and by rightful authority; indeed, in view of Father Kelly's recent book, there is reason to think that a very cordial welcome would await them. But the moment it is suggested that the invitation to preach is but a preliminary to an invitation to celebrate, a very large body of Church people will feel in duty bound to resist the whole movement with all their power.

On the other hand, could a Nonconformist who clearly realized this situation accept any invitation to minister in our churches? If he knew that we denied the validity of his Orders, what could be the value of our invitation to him? The adoption of the present proposals would, no doubt, be greeted with pleasure by the Nonconformists, but only because it would look like the beginning of a movement to recognize non-Episcopal Orders. Only in so far as and so long as we misunderstand each other and ignore our differences, can the present proposals succeed in bringing us nearer to each other. The moment we come out into the daylight and express our real convictions, that moment we necessarily draw asunder.

To adopt these Proposals without first reaching some greater measure of agreement would be a very dangerous policy, for it would at once bring the ignored differences of conviction into violent collision and make their reconciliation much more difficult. Let us observe that we are asked to take these steps in the name of Christian unity. But they do not in themselves constitute Christian unity; when we have taken them the problems of Christian unity will still await a solution; and these steps will be meaningless unless they are to be followed by others. But what are those others to be? The promoters of the present movement do not tell us; probably they are content not to think, and if they did think would not find themselves in agreement. One must beware of imputing any particular

policy to them; but it is plain that the one great step which would remain in order to complete our reunion would be the recognition by the Anglican Church of the right of non-Episcopal ministers to celebrate the Eucharist. When the world outside sees that the Church of England has withdrawn from the attitude which it has always taken up towards the Nonconformist ministers, and that we have invited them to preach in our pulpits, will it not expect us to take the further step of inviting them to celebrate at our altars and so merge the two ministries into one? From some quarter or other a movement in this direction would be sure to arise; the signatories of the Appeal might be opposed to it; but they could not prevent it from coming into being. And once it arises, it must be answered. If it is answered in the affirmative, it will at once cause a division in our own ranks; if in the negative, it cannot but give offence to the Nonconformists and perhaps create an ill feeling which it would take years to allay. Hence the adoption of the Proposals would at once bring our convictions into acute conflict with those of the Nonconformists, and thus an atmosphere unfavourable to impartial discussion would be created. Our differences will be much more easily composed before these Proposals are adopted than afterwards.

Our present attitude towards the non-Episcopal Churches has a certain logical consistency of its own, and is easily understood. We value their good works and rejoice in them; and therefore we gladly co-operate with them in all social and philanthropic efforts and even in certain aspects of missionary work. But we believe that there is a difference between one who has received the ancient Episcopal ordination and one who has not, and therefore, when it comes to official ministrations in church, we draw the line here and say we cannot admit others beyond this. Whatever may have been the private opinions of individuals, this has always been our official and practical attitude, and as such it is plainly understood by all men. But to adopt the present proposals would be to withdraw from this attitude and so to advertise to the world that we have

changed our minds regarding the non-Episcopal ministries, whereas no such change has really taken place; and to create expectations which cannot be fulfilled.

The promoters of the movement do not say what steps they would suggest after their present proposals. Perhaps some of them think that when we have taken the first step towards the non-Episcopal bodies, the latter will feel inclined to take the second step towards us and submit to Episcopal ordination. But supposing they were to argue that Episcopacy has been associated with a theory of the Christian ministry which they have never held, and that therefore it is better for us to come to them in this matter than vice versa —what will our friends say in this case? Will they be able to say 'No! Even though all hope of Christian unity be abandoned for a generation or more, still we cannot give up the Episcopate and you must come to us'? If they are really convinced that the Episcopate is too big a price to pay for unity, would it not be more candid and fairer to the Nonconformists to say so at once? We should then all know where we stand, and a discussion of our differences would probably be less aimless.

So long as differences of conviction exist, it is foolish to ignore them and it is wrong to violate them. It is quite true that if we are to have unity, someone's convictions must be changed; but no true unity can be built upon a dereliction of what men believe to be their duty to our Lord; it is far better that unity should halt than that anyone should deliberately consent to violate what he sincerely and honestly believes to be right. To attempt to drill our convictions into uniformity by legislation must always end in failure. There is really only one method—the method of slow and patient investigation, of kindly discussion and earnest prayer; we must have faith that God will give us grace to see and to follow the truth when at last it is stated for us. We ought not to lay down our convictions for anything but a conviction that something else is nearer the truth; and that can come only by quiet thought. present there is no use attempting to stir up popular movements or to settle this difficulty by the method of counting

heads. Our hopes must be centred on the studies of the devout and conscientious scholars of every denomination; if they were once agreed, the rest of the Christian world would soon fall into line. More than once has it happened in the past that the Church, torn asunder by conflicting opinions, has had to search, and search with travail and pain, for the solution of some problem, until at last the general acceptance of one position or another has made it plain that the truth has been found. It seems as though we Christians of the present century were confronted with the duty of discovering and stating the truth about the Church and the ministry as it has never been stated before. to realize our vocation, to feel that we are called upon to do a great work—a work which shall redound to the glory of God throughout all generations. Once the goal is reached and the truth is seen, our work will never have to be done again: it will be a permanent possession, a perpetual well-spring of inspiration and power.

In the meanwhile we must be patient; we must look away from the prejudices and partisanship of the past and seek for the fundamental principles by which this issue must be decided. Many of us, no doubt, must fail before the goal is reached; for probably it is a task beyond the powers of any one man, or any one generation of men; but eventually, by the continued correction of multiplied mistakes, the real

truth will be made to appear.

HAROLD HAMILTON.

# SHORT NOTICES

## I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

The Bible To-day. The second part of a Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation, 1912. By Bertram Pollock, C.V.O., D.D., Bishop of Norwich. (John Murray. 2s. 6d. net.

THE Bishop of Norwich has done good service by issuing in book form the second part of the Charge delivered at his primary Visitation in 1912. Under the title of *The Bible To-day*, he has presented for consideration a well-reasoned, thoughtful, and

temperate exposition of the claim that Holy Scripture makes at the present time upon the minds and hearts of the faithful. The question that the Bishop sets himself to answer is broadly this: How far, and in what direction, have the results of modern criticism and research legitimately modified our attitude towards the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments? Historical and scientific research has cast doubt upon the literal accuracy of some details of the narrative; but this, says the Bishop, is immaterial. We are not the less bound to consider the Bible as 'inspired' in a true sense.

'The term 'inspiration' applies not to the syllables of a book, nor to the book itself, but to its author, who, using the language and conceptions of his time, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, expressed the message of God in his own way under and with the limitations of himself and his position.'

This is true no less of the ethical judgements of the Old Testament writers than of their historical statements.

'Some of their judgements are for us, with the New Testament in our hands, inadequate, and do not lay the emphasis where we should put it now; ... but they teach us the real lesson beside which all else is by comparison unimportant, that man is accountable to God, and that he cannot live his life independently of God.'

Behind all the human elements of the Bible is the living word of its Divine Author.

The same general considerations are as applicable to the New Testament Scriptures as to the Old, but the Bishop is careful to point out that the narrative of the historical books stands on a different footing in the two cases. The New Testament writers were much more nearly the contemporaries of the events which they record than were the historians of the former dispensation. This fact tends to impose a limit on historical error in the Gospel story, though 'there is nothing incompatible with the real truth of the inspiration of the writers in supposing that there may be inaccuracies in the New Testament 'as well as in the Old. The spiritual and religious significance is in both cases unaffected. The Bishop loses no opportunity of driving home the point that Holy Scripture is a guide to man in his relation with God, and is not intended to save him the trouble of independent scientific and historical inquiry.

The Charge does not profess to break new ground in the department of criticism or of apologetics; it rather uses established results as a basis for practical conclusions. Such matters

as the formation of the Canon, the Synoptic Problem, Miracles and the Virgin Birth, our Lord's Kenosis, are dealt with in a wise and reverent spirit, and with constant reference to the spiritual needs of the present day. The book should be widely useful to clergy and laity alike.

We have noticed a slight misprint in the second Greek quotation on page 134; but the volume is well produced, and such

errors are rare.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah together with The Lamentations. In the Revised Version, with introduction and notes by A. W. Streane, D.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press. 1913.) 3s. net.

THE 'Cambridge Bible' series will never be out of date if its contributors subject their work to such a thorough—we may call it radical—revision as that which Dr. Streane here gives us of his original commentary published thirty-two years ago. The present edition is one to be heartily recommended. And the exquisitely tinted plans of Jerusalem, ancient and modern, deserve mention. There is something piquant in being shewn whereabouts Jeremiah walked when he passed by the site of the future railway station.

A small error in transliteration should be corrected on p. 322,

where 'ên is twice given for 'ên.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah. 'International Critical Commentary.' By H. G. MITCHELL, D.D., J. M. P. SMITH, PH.D., and J. A. BEWER, PH.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 12s.

This is the third and final volume of the series of Commentaries on the Minor Prophets begun by the late Dr. Harper; the second was noticed in our issue for January 1913. The greater part of the one before us has been done by Dr. Mitchell—on Haggai and Zechariah. For Malachi Dr. Smith is responsible; for Jonah—relegated to the end of the volume—Dr. Bewer. The whole work seems well up to the high average of excellence attained by the series to which it belongs. The introductions are full and clear, and the commentaries furnish scholarly and sound exegesis. The needs of Hebrew students are fully met.

Dr. Mitchell thinks that the prophecies of Haggai—much of them being in metre—were committed to writing by a friend or disciple soon after the prophet's death. The textual conclu-

sions in the critical notes are usefully given separately in tabular form; and so are those on Zechariah. We miss a separate bibliography of these two books.

The difficult questions as to Zech. ix.—xiv. are treated in masterly fashion. These chapters are assigned to at least four authors, one belonging to the latter part of the Fourth century B.C., the others to the second half of the century following, the fourth writer shewing 'apocalyptic tendencies.'

The Book of Malachi, Dr. Smith thinks, may once have 'circulated as one of a small collection of prophecies which also included Zechariah' (portions or the whole). The work 'must be classified as prose'; and it is anonymous, for 'my

messenger' cannot be a proper name.

The Book of Jonah is viewed by Dr. Bewer as 'a story with a moral, a parable, a prose poem like the story of the Good Samaritan, or Lessing's Ring Story in Nathan the Wise, or Oscar Wilde's poem in prose The Teacher of Truth.' It was written in order to call men back to the noble ideal of Israel's 'mediatory service for mankind in bringing the knowledge of the true religion to the ends of the earth.' It would be pleasant to quote more fully from Dr. Bewer's commentary, but we must conclude with his words on the significant question with which the Book of Jonah ends. The writer 'wants to teach the narrow, blind, prejudiced, fanatic Jews of which [sic] Jonah is the type that "the love of God is wider than the measures of man's mind, And the heart of the Eternal is most wonderfully kind: But we make His love too narrow by false limits of our own."'

- A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. By J. E. Frame. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 10s. 6d.
- 2. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles. By A. E. BROOKE, B.D. (T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.

THESE two volumes are a welcome addition to the 'International Critical Commentary,' and maintain the generally high level of the series. It is to be regretted that the price of the commentaries on what are after all small portions of the Bible is so high, when the amount of small type might have been increased, as in the bigger volumes, and the size and price correspondingly reduced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The verse is so printed in the Commentary.

Professor Frame's work shews a complete and up-to-date knowledge of the literature of the subject and is especially strong on the linguistic side. He is also very clear in his handling of the material, and his discussion of the views of his predecessors. The authenticity of I Thessalonians is hardly denied, nor can it be reasonably doubted 'unless one is prepared to assert that Paul never lived, or that no letter from him has survived.' But doubts in regard to the second Epistle are more widespread, based partly on the literary resemblances between the two Epistles, and partly on a difference in the eschatology. Against these points, Professor Frame urges that 'the intelligibility of the historical situation implied by the second Epistle, the language, the personal equation, and the religious convictions' are distinctly in favour of Pauline authorship, which is therefore accepted by him as 'the best working hypothesis.' The most difficult section of the text is of course the eschatological passage in 2 Th. ii. I-I2, and the commentary is full and clear in its summary of the various views that are held, and the history of the terms used and their interpretation. In regard to the identification of  $\tau \delta$ κατέχου Professor Frame is cautious, and after a long discussion concludes that 'we do not know what Paul had in mind, whether the Roman Empire, or a supernatural being that keeps the Anomos in detention, or Satan who is temporarily in control of the forces of evil, or something else quite different.' So again, with regard to the Anomos himself, whether he is 'the indirect result of the conception of the Antichrist as originally a humanised devil, or is the direct result of the fusion of the Antichrist conceived as purely human and of Belial conceived as purely Satanic . . . . may perhaps be regarded as still open.' But 'while holding to the traditional conceptualism of apocalyptic and to the essence of its faith' St. Paul 'demonstrates the originality of his religious insight in his attitude to the traditional forms,' and the whole passage is regarded as forming 'one proof more for the genuinely Pauline origin of our Epistle.' We have noticed a few mistakes which have escaped the eye of the proof-reader, e.g. on p. 59 Antiochan, p. 197 Oxyrhyncus, p. 182 ή ωδίν (!); and an expression like 'the personality back of the words and phrases' betrays the country of its origin. But there can be no question that in using this commentary we are following a thoroughly competent and sane guide.

Mr. Brooke speaks of his commentary as being 'the παρέργον of several years, in such intervals as could be spared from Septuagint and College work.' He recognizes the difference between

IQI

the Epistles on which he is commenting and some other Epistles of the New Testament, in the specially pastoral and practical purpose of the writer, involving in the commentary a 'prominence given to matters connected with exhortation and edification which may seem out of proportion.' Mr. Brooke has 'deliberately avoided' discussing the question of authorship, because 'it cannot be profitably discussed apart from the wider question of the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel,' but incidentally we gather his position that 'we are on safer ground when we speak of the Ephesian Canonical writings than when we assign them definitely to St. John, Apostle or Elder.' Of the undoubted relation between the Gospel and the First Epistle, Mr. Brooke says that the latter is 'an attempt to make plainer for practical purposes of spiritual life the profound teaching contained in the Gospel,' while some interval of time must be placed between the two writings. Other sections of the introduction deal with the aim, destination, analysis of the Epistle, the false teachers, the literary history, and the text. In connexion with the last, Mr. Brooke has made fresh collations of some of the authorities, notably the Egyptian and Armenian versions. Any who have tried to make a consecutive analysis of the argument of the first Epistle will sympathize with Mr. Brooke in his attempt to do so, for the 'aphoristic meditations do not lend themselves to sharp division.' In view of these aphorisms, and Mr. Brooke's often suggestive treatment of many of them-for example, the ninefold 'hereby we know' of the Epistle, which the readers are to use as tests of their religious position—a more exhaustive general index would have been welcome, many words being altogether omitted while the references to others are very inadequately given. We have noticed a certain number of slips of grammar: on p. 7 make it for makes, on p. 78 are clear for is, on p. 132 4th chapter for 3rd, on p. 168 name for names, on p. lxxvi are for is, on p. lxxxv fail for fails, p. xlvii εὐαγγέλιον for εὐαγγελίω. There are other misprints in the Greek or accents on pp. xxxiii, 6, 43, 67, 108, 120. But these do not detract from the value of the commentary, which will be found helpful throughout.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By the Rev. Cyril W. EMMET. M.A. (Robert Scott. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a volume in 'The Readers' Commentary,' based on the Revised Version, and intended to treat the Epistle 'in a way which will be intelligible to the general reader.' It is a careful and scholarly commentary, stronger perhaps on the historical than on the doctrinal questions which arise in connexion with the Epistle. Mr. Emmet is clear and full on the two main questions of introduction, viz. the date of the Epistle and its relation to the narrative of the Acts. His claim, however, to be the first (if we understand him aright) to date the Epistle earlier than the Apostolic Council of Acts xv. ignores the opinion of Calvin (on ii. 1) and others. He seems to us justified in urging that St. Paul, in his summary of his past history, could hardly pass over the visit of Acts xi. 30: on the other hand, it is difficult to see the point of the injunction 'that we should remember the poor ' (Gal. ii. 10) on a visit made expressly to take alms to the poor. It is undesirable to multiply visits, but surely there must have been an earlier visit to Jerusalem from Antioch by Barnabas and probably Paul to report on the question, with which Barnabas had been sent to Antioch to deal (Acts xi. 22). Again, it seems difficult to identify the first visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Galatians with that recorded in Acts ix. 26ff, when according to the latter narrative Barnabas took Paul and 'brought him to the Apostles,' whereas Gal. i. 19 implies that St. Paul only saw Peter and James.

Mr. Emmet's conclusion as to the date of the Epistle is that it was written after the first missionary journey either from Antioch or on the way up to the Conference of Acts xv. Unquestionably it would get rid of many difficulties, if we could date the Epistle before that Conference, nor are the objections to that view overwhelming. In regard to the other great question of introduction Mr. Emmet decides in favour of the South Galatian theory, but, as he says, a discussion of the crucial passages in the Acts is necessarily somewhat complicated, depending as it does on questions of text, grammar, and geography. The difficulty of reconciling the participle  $\kappa\omega\lambda\nu\theta\acute{e}\nu\tau\epsilon$ s with the South Galatian theory seems under-estimated, and in regard to the geography we cannot quite fit in the suggested explanation of St. Paul's movements on p. xiii ('What happened was this,' etc.) with the divisions as given in the map.

The notes on the text of the Epistle are generally adequate and clear. We have noticed very few inaccuracies, but on p. xx Acts i. is a misprint for xi., on p. 48 Jer. xxxviii. 31 should be xxxi., and on p. 63 2 Cor. iv. 16 should be 2 Cor. v. 16. In a few passages we cannot accept Mr. Emmet's explanations. In ii. 2 it hardly seems satisfactory to explain St. Paul's words

'I went up by revelation' as a visit 'undertaken in accordance with the revelation to Agabus'; surely the 'revelation' must have been to St. Paul himself. It is unsatisfactory also to explain—or explain away—the difficulty of the words a mediator is not of one, but God is one by saying that 'the whole verse is a pious gloss'; if so, never was a better instance of obscurum per obscurius! But, in spite of 'the 250 or 300 interpretations,' is the difficulty so great after all? We very much doubt the suggested 'faith made operative by love' (v. 6), in spite of the careful discussion in Robinson, Ephesians 241ff., to which Mr. Emmet refers. The passage in St. James, v. 16, where the same word ἐνεργουμένη occurs, is more naturally translated by a middle sense 'in its working,' and could anything be more beautifully suggestive or more practically useful than the thought that the essential part of religion is a reservoir of sound belief which. if it be deep enough, must find an outlet through the channel of (δι' ἀγάπης) love?

The Great Salvation, being a Study of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By C. R. Cuff, LL.B. (Methuen. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE author of this little book has availed himself of the leisure brought by his retirement from a long business life to make a continuous study of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the fruits of which he offers to his brother laymen. He recognizes that the doctrinal instruction of the Epistle is conveyed in the form of an elaborate argument, and he elucidates it rather by disentangling the main themes than by analysis of the whole. The book is. in fact, a devout and sober Churchman's meditation. He knows the Scriptures and the Prayer Book, and is at home with such English Divines as Pusey, Norris, Carter, Body, Westcott. Except for a little carelessness about Greek accents he is scholarly; and his quiet style and firm affection for the Faith, as held by the Church of England, should recommend him to simple and sincere minds. One point we would briefly touch on: Mr. Cuff follows the rendering of the Revised Version in Heb. vi. 4-6, which, by its strict reference of the participles to a definite point in past time, makes it appear that apostasy, for which there is no human hope of repentance, has actually taken place. This exaggerates the severity of the passage. Even though we refuse to separate καὶ παραπεσόντας from the initial article and to give it independent conditional force—and 'Two Clerks' are quite justified in restoring this construction from the version of 1611—it is still fair to translate all the participles with a 'have,' and to take advantage of the ambiguity of that mode of expression. 'It is impossible to renew those who have fallen away' may mean 'those who shall have fallen away,' the past being not absolute, but relative to the infinitive. This is agreeable to the Greek, and more in harmony with the general character of the New Testament, and therefore of Mr. Cuff's theology.

Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet. By E. A. Abbott. (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 12s. 6d. net.

THE ninth instalment of Dr. Abbott's Diatessarica is a careful and elaborate study of the fascinating 'Odes of Solomon,' of which Dr. Rendel Harris published the editio princeps three years ago. It exhibits the same qualities as the former volumes of Dr. Abbott's studies: his extraordinary industry, his minute knowledge of the text of Scripture, his ingenuity in discovering verbal parallelisms, and—we must add—his prolixity. For this bulky volume contains 650 pages of printed matter, and it does not cover the entire ground, some of the Odes receiving little attention. It is not always easy 'to see the wood for the trees'; and this veteran scholar's work receives less attention from his fellow-workers than it would receive did he subordinate the discussion of minute details to the exposition of his general view. But his work is always worthy of respectful consideration. and his comments on the Odes of Solomon are often very instructive.

Dr. Abbott holds that the Odes, as we have them, are not a translation from the Greek (as Dr. Harris contends), and that if they are not original in their present form they were probably first composed in Hebrew. We think that this is plausibly argued, while we cannot agree that he has made out so good a case for the early date—the beginning of the Second century or the end of the First. He rightly sets aside the hypothesis of interpolation, by which Dr. Harnack tried to explain many difficult passages in the Odes. The wealth of Scriptural references which he gives is his principal contribution to the interpretation of these beautiful poems, while his commentary shews hardly any trace of the labours of his predecessors. Indeed, his work is original throughout; as he tells us, he has not found time to study much of the literature which has sprung up around the Odes. For this reason, his observations have been frequently anticipated by other scholars, and notably in regard to such patristic illustrations as he gives. This is, perhaps, the weakest part of the book. Dr. Abbott has written on the Odes as if the Christian writings of the Second and Third centuries could not be expected to provide much help to the commentator. He recognizes more than once that the poet is using the baptismal phraseology of the early Church, but he does not expand this idea, which is of primary importance for the exegesis of the poems. He sees, for example, that the literal rendering of Ode xi. I, 'My heart was circumcised, is the true rendering, but he misses the baptismal reference and suggests that the poet has Abraham in his mind surely a fanciful thought. Again, he sees that Ode xxxix. 6 refers to the Passage of the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua. but he does not follow out the patristic parallels which interpret the Jordan by the baptismal waters. Dr. Abbott's ingenuity in finding Scriptural allusions is remarkable, and it sometimes leads him to suggest parallels which are not very illuminating. For instance, he thinks that the 'Letter' of Ode xxiii. may allude to the letter in the Book of Esther in consequence of which the Jews instituted the feast of Purim! His endeavour to find reminiscences of the canonical 'Song of Solomon' is very interesting, but it cannot be said to be successful. The passage (Cant. iii. II) in which mention is made of Solomon's crown on the day of his espousals helps us little with the numerous references to crowns in the Odes.

There is no doubt, however, as to the soundness of Dr. Abbott's scholarship, although his learned imagination sometimes leads him astray; and this book, like his former books, will be useful to scholars who read it with an open mind. He has provided verbally literal translations of a good many of the Odes, from which it is apparent more than once that the literal rendering is the best. And no writer on the Odes has appreciated more keenly their poetic beauty and their spiritual dignity than Dr. Edwin Abbott.

The Odes of Solomon. By J. H. Bernard, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. 'Texts and Studies,' Vol. VIII. No. 3. (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 6s. net.

EVERY student of Early Christian literature will welcome this edition of the *Odes of Solomon*. Dr. Rendel Harris, who first published them in English, considers them to be private poems of a Jewish Christian writing at the end of the First century 'breathing a spirit of exalted mysticism without sacramental

reference'; Professor Harnack believes them to be pre-Christian Jewish writings worked over by a Christian editor about the year 100 A.D. Dr. Menzies declares that they are purely Jewish. These three incompatible theories Dr. Bernard regards as equally mistaken, and holds that the Odes were hymns taught to the newly baptized as part of their instruction, as were those of Ephraim Syrus, and also that they are of Syrian origin, and date from the second half of the Second century A.D.

He here, therefore, examines them with a view to discover the habits of religious life which they presuppose, but he has not, of course, limited himself to making out a case. He collects the scanty references to them in Early Christian literature, in Lactantius, and in 'that curious and repulsive treatise' the *Pistis Sophia*; he considers the questions of their original language, of their doctrine, whether Gnostic or Johannine, of their use of Scripture. To the text he adds full and valuable notes, but all through his main purpose is to find parallels to references to Baptism in other writers to support his theory.

We need not say that this is done with immense learning, and for his work the student of the general history of Baptism, at any rate, will be grateful. He has collected from widely separated sources and ages an imposing array of passages illustrating baptismal customs, but we own that we are not quite convinced. Other great scholars have found evidences of habits of religious life and thought quite incompatible with his thesis. We cannot help feeling that if he had started with the presupposition that the Odes were, for example, eucharistic or penitential hymns, or were connected with any other central feature of Church life, he would, with his wide knowledge of Christian literature, have found no difficulty in marshalling an equally imposing array of proof.

The literature of Baptism is so vast that it is not difficult to find in it parallels to almost any phrase, but it is precarious to argue from Fourth or Fifth century thought to Second century practice, while the evidence of late rituals may be quite irrelevant unless some connexion can be shewn with earlier times. Moreover, writers such as he quotes seem generally to start with clear references to conspicuous definite points which suggest allegorical illustrations often very vague and fanciful. Here, Dr. Bernard would have it, the process is reversed. But there is no sign that the disciplina arcani really forbade allusion to the sacrament in writings intended for Christians, whatever may have been necessary in inscriptions set up in public like that on

the tomb of Abercius. The hymn of Ephraim Syrus which is quoted on p. 20 is exceptional; the others of the series refer to baptism quite openly. It is surely to beg the question to say that references to the main purpose of the Odes are absent because the author 'suppresses them after his cryptic fashion,' and in any case we doubt if catechumens of the type contemplated by, say, the Canons of Hippolytus or Cyril's Catecheses would have been contented with such obscure allusions, vague as popular hymns often are. If, however, the theory is sound it shews that besides insisting on probation and instruction the Early Church did not neglect spiritual training as well: a lesson we perhaps need to bear in mind to-day.

#### II.—RELIGION AND ETHICS.

- I. The Moral Life and Moral Worth. By W. R. SORLEY, Litt.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, Cambridge. 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' (Cambridge University Press.) 1s. net.
- 2. Practical Psychology. By I. Gregory Smith, M.A., I.L.D. (Bennett and Co.) 2s. 6d.
- 3. The Dawn of Character: a Study of Child Life. By Edith E. Read Mumford, M.A. (Longmans.) 3s. 6d.
- 4. Conduct and its Disorders: Biologically Considered. By C. A. MERCIER, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (Macmillan.) 10s. net.
- 5. Circumstances or Character. Studies in Social Work. By CLEMENT F. ROGERS, M.A. (Methuen.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE books above named, all published in the last two years, have some common ground in that they are all concerned with human character or its expression in conduct, and are interesting examples of the varied work proceeding among us in this field.

The Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge selects as the best way of presenting the subject within the limits of a very small volume in the series of Manuals now issuing from the University Press a sketch of moral character in a few broad features. It is to be noted that in Professor Sorley we have a confident Idealist teaching from the Chair which for a generation was eminent for its critical rather than its constructive contribution to Ethics when occupied by that subtly deliberative thinker, Henry Sidgwick. Dr. Sorley stands for the conception of the

moral self as issuing from 'an inner circle of personal life.' For him heredity provides the basis of our character, but the individual will is 'an internal factor which modifies the whole,' even extending to our physical nature, and carrying us into the sphere of social life. The qualities of the moral self are described as the 'virtues'—and are grouped as Personal, Social, and Religious. The treatment follows the line of the four Cardinal virtues, with the addition of Benevolence, and of Religion. From this it is plain that Dr. Sorley's teaching is free from two of the defects which narrow many ethical writers: he gives no support to the view which makes ethics begin and end with social conduct; for him, the beginning lies in the personal sphere summed up under the headings self-control and self-culture; and the end lies in Religious virtues, the excellences of character in view of the ultimate meanings which lie beyond both self and society. As a first introduction the little volume is therefore good, because it is laid out on lines that will ensure the reader against having to extend the sphere of the study when he proceeds further.

Dr. Gregory Smith's short book is in the main psychological. It is a small collection of the reflexions of a veteran scholar of the old Oxford Aristotelian training who has extended his reading to include some of the prominent modern psychologists. These he traces in the familiar areas of Intellect. Emotion, and Will, and then shews how the three factors combine in our actual life. The inductive survey is then conducted upwards into the regions of morality and of religion. He has a short bout with Professor Sorley as to the application of evolution to Ethics, but we think that there is no real difference between them, as both are aware of the limitations under which we must regard moral ideals as produced by anything that is called evolution in the naturalistic sense. The point of Dr. Gregory Smith's very brief volume lies in its testimony to the way in which philosophical interest can not only persist to the advanced stage of a scholar's life, but can also keep thought moving and can offer a welcome to ideas and facts beyond the scope of those received in its earlier stages; that, in short, our philosophy, as well as our less exacting mental interests, may retain vitality and put on freshness to the end of our span of life.

Mrs. Read Mumford supplies us with an answer to the question, Of what use can the study of Psychology possibly be to those concerned with the training of children? Doubtless too much has been expected from this comparatively new science in the

eager first days of the training of Teachers, and of Parents also. This volume offers an example of what can be done and done effectively: it is manifestly the result of much observation of child-life illuminated by the ideas gained from scientific study.

Under the usual psychological rubrics of attention, interest, memory, imagination, control, and habit, the growth of the child-mind is described. There is constant exhibition of the penetration which depends upon sympathy, and we make acquaintance with quite a number of little Franks and Malcolms. Jessies and Janets: of all shades of disposition and faculty. clever and dull, docile and obstreperous, passionate and calm; and all are welcomed and taken in kindly and thoughtful charge. The chapter on Imagination can be especially commended: if what is here brought up were known and taken seriously we should never hear more of the grim aunts and starchy governesses of the Victorian period. Valuable also are the chapters on Control and the training of the will: their perusal would have drawn an entirely approving smile from Aristotle himself. Mrs. Mumford takes in the main what may be called 'agreed' principles, and has uncommon discretion in selecting them. She shews, however, how she can make a choice when agreement is not to be had in her treatment of punishment and the apportionment of regard as between Law and Freedom. Here she follows the wise guidance of Dr. McCunn, of Liverpool, rather than of Herbert Spencer: insisting upon the frequent necessity (I) of obedience, and (2) of inhibiting wrong impulses by external pressure. The whole treatment is such as to enable us very strongly to recommend Mrs. Mumford's book to all who are engaged in leading upward the minds of young children, whether as Teachers or-and, indeed, with still more extensive prospect of beneficent effect—as Parents. Before laying the book down it may be worth while adding a thought that occurred to us: namely, how unnecessary it is now for English Churchpeople to have resorted to that product of America which claims the proud title of 'Christian Science.' Our mothers and our teachers have had much knowledge of children's ways and children's needs, but they have not until lately had access to the results of systematic reflexion such as psychology—harsh term as it must sound to them even now-can offer. The 'Christian Science' people in their way came forward to offer such help; but, now that sounder and wider reflexion than theirs is available, it is to be hoped that we shall hear less and less of them. In Mrs. Read Mumford we have a Girtonian, now a Lecturer at a Manchester College, who can both hold and work out the belief that 'in the nature of most children there is that which makes them grow towards goodness if we give them the chance' (p. 83) without having to join a new religious sect.

There is a special chapter on the 'Dawn of Religion,' very judicious and thoughtful. It takes religion only in its breadth, as the sense of a Higher Power, who is a beneficent Creator and Guardian, and of our duty and service to Him. How this fundamental is to be evoked and fostered from very early years is indicated in a general way and exemplified from

actual experiences.

The aim and scope of Dr. Mercier's book leads us into a very different field of ethical study. His purpose is to trace the growth of character and conduct by reference to a single principle, viz. the development of power to secure survival in the struggle for existence. There is no place here for criticizing this principle as to its all-sufficiency: we might ask whether life is wholly a struggle, and whether bare persistence and survival without reference to any qualities of life is to be our only purpose and aim. But we suppose that Dr. Mercier is himself aware that his principle is only one amongst others which are held by men of repute, and we take it that the value of his work lies in the presentation he offers of the development of conduct just in so far as it is influenced by the struggle for life, and no further. Within this limited range, it seems to us that he has done his work with very considerable success and attractiveness. We may note, amongst other features, his insistence upon spontaneity of action as well as action in response to stimulus: this brings him into association with the prevailing Voluntarism and Activism of the present day and gives vivacity and movement to his presentation. Again, he writes clearly upon Instinct and Reason; their differences, and the ways in which they work together. The ends of our activities—due to instincts—he arranges under self-preservation, the preservation of the community, and of the race (or 'stirp,' as he calls it). He sees that these frequently come into conflict, and makes the error, now too common, of limiting the term 'moral' to the social activities. It is an instance of his independence that he notes the naturalness and depth of the feeling for Retaliation, and is not carried away into the condemnation of Retribution as a factor in Punishment which marks the great majority of Evolutionist writers. The limitation imposed by his adoption of a single principle comes out in a marked way when we find no adequate treatment of the principle

of Hedonism. True, he thus avoids the double-mindedness of Spencer, but it is at a great cost.

The limitation stands out even more clearly, however, when Dr. Mercier comes to the higher ranges of life: these he introduces as Recreation, Admiration of Beauty, Investigation in pursuit of Knowledge, and Religion. But he cannot admit them to full rank. He is fully aware that their function in securing victory in a struggle for life is very far from being plain, so he grants them admission to a secondary status—they are 'Indirectly vital.' Still, he endeavours to assign to them such efficiency for persistence in life as he can fairly discover: in Religion, for example, he sees a biological efficiency, and gives some account of it after the manner of Dr. Frazer in Psyche's Task. Dr. Mercier regards its function as concerned much more with the preservation and improvement of society than of either the self or the race. We are obliged to think that his inquiries into the history of Religion have been less extensive than his biological studies: a sign of this is his repetition of the now discredited view that religions find their only origin in human fears (p. 353).

But the field is very wide, and no man can work it in all its areas with equal efficiency. We have no hesitation in commending Dr. Mercier's exposition as a contribution to the tracing out in human conduct of the principle of survival by conquest after struggle: conceived in a generous and kindly temper, with few traces of animosity and none of contempt for older views, but aimed directly at winning support for it as a ground of hope

in continued progress.

Our last book carries us into different territory: it is concerned with the efforts of the more fortunate members of the human family to give help to the weaker members, especially in philanthropy and Christian works of charity. This raises the question, How can human souls be helped from outside themselves? And Mr. Rogers writes as a well-known advocate of the answer that they cannot: the uplifting of any depressed human being can be effected only by appeal to his own personality. Mr. Rogers has for some years been an indefatigable protagonist in journals and before Church Congresses of the two principles of the Charity Organization Society, viz. men in distress must be assisted to help themselves upward, and in the application of this assistance the helpers must work in combination and order. It is very useful to have these principles now set before us in a single volume.

These are not academic studies, though Mr. Rogers, as the son

of one of Oxford's most eminent leaders in the sociological field, and as himself connected during most of his life with colleges, has an excellent academic background to his thinking. But they are inductive studies made by himself in his work as a parish clergyman and as an active member of the Charity Organization Society. A telling example of his material is given in the proceedings of a single committee meeting which dealt with seventeen cases: the analysis of these facts is very instructive, and worth more than a good many chapters of merely abstract speculation, if the two methods are to be used apart. Again, it is a mark of the thoughtfulness of his view that in the organization for which he pleads he includes such combinations for the prevention of poverty as the Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, the Cooperative Societies, and the public service generally, and he strongly urges that Church men and women should cordially make use of these agencies.

The reader of Mr. Rogers' book will find how the Church can work a Christian Socialism to which she herself contributes fundamental principles, and that Mr. Rogers himself is strongly opposed to the common 'Socialism': he regards it as false in its philosophy, its economics, its psychology, and its therapeutic methods alike. There is also a chapter on the methods of the Early Church in the matter of charities, and another upon the present-day associations of Relief and Religion, both in the cases of the rice-Christians of Foreign Mission-fields, and the doles to Churchpeople handed down to us from Mediaeval times. Some striking instances of the evil effects of Disorderliness in charity are given, and by way of Epilogue Mr. Rogers reverts to the principles which he advocates, and claims that they are endorsed by the principles of the Christian religion.

Reflexion on these books, fortuitously collected together as they happen to be, shews how diversified and how interesting at the present moment is the work being done in the study of Character and Conduct. They are all of them conceived in a spirit of general goodwill and of general hopefulness: Idealist, Aristotelian, and Evolutionist can salute one another with respect, while in the sphere of applied study the child-mind vies in interest with the sacred cause of relieving and assisting poverty, misfortune, and distress.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by J. Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of J. A. Selbie, M.A., D.D.,

and other scholars. Vol. v. 'Dravidians '-' Fichte.' (T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 28s. net.

THE ambit of Religion and Ethics as conceived by Dr. Hastings is so large that it is almost with a feeling of surprise that we find the letter F reached in this fifth volume. But though the encyclopaedia contains a good deal that is unexpected, and some things which seem rather too vague for treatment in a dictionary. the standard of work is so high that there is very little that the student will consider superfluous, while for the abundant references and bibliographies he will be exceedingly grateful. There is nothing more irritating than to find, as we have often found, even in a valuable book like Haydn's 'Dictionary of Dates' (we have not seen a recent edition), an interesting and, if true, important statement without any ready means of checking the authority on which it is based. In the volume before us subjects more or less intimately connected with Ethics proper naturally assume prominence: among such may be reckoned Dress, Drunkenness, Economics, Education (10 articles), Emotions, Epicureans, Ethics (to which with Morals 21 articles are devoted), Eudaemonism, Family (15 articles), and these are only a selection. Among those which may be classified under 'Religion' are: Druids, Dualism (7 articles), Edwards [Jonathan] and the New England Theology, Egyptian Religion, Election, Enlightenment, Enthusiasts, Epiphany, Episcopacy, by Dr. Darwell Stone, Erastianism, Eschatology, Essenes, Etruscan Religion, Eucharist. The last is divided into two (i) to the end of the Middle Ages, by Dr. Srawley, of Selwyn; (ii) Reformation and Post-Reformation Period, by Mr. Hugh Watt, a minister of the United Free Church who holds that the doctrine of the XXXIX. Articles on the subject is purely Calvinistic and that in the Prayer Book 'the order of administration has more mediaeval elements, but is, after all, not so far removed from the Zürich liturgy.' To these we may add Eunomianism, Evangelicalism, Expiation and Atonement (14 articles), Faith (4 articles), Fall (3 articles), Fasting, and Festivals and Fasts, by the Bishop of Moray. This again is only a selection, and when we add quasi-biographical studies, e.g. Emerson, Epictetus, Fichte; metaphysical, e.g. Ego, Egoism, Epistemology, Error and Truth; biological, e.g. Evolution; and those which deal with anthropology and sociology, e.g. Easter Island, Eskimos, Ethnology, and one of an interesting but rather surprising kind on Europe, it will be seen that there is no reason to complain of lack of variety. The

encyclopaedia is, and is likely long to remain, unique of its kind, and even when, as in the case of most of us, both the bookcase and the purse have alike to be considered, the purchaser will probably feel that it is one of those 'extravagances' which, whether ethically or economically regarded, are not waste.

### III.—PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

The Passion of Christ: a Study in the Narratives, the Circumstances, and some of the Doctrines pertaining to the Trial and Death of our Divine Redeemer. By the Rev. James S. Stone, D.D., Rector of St. James's Church, Chicago. (Longmans. 1912.) 4s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to appraise this book, or even to estimate rightly what its purpose may be. There is much promise in the Introduction of searching inquiry into the Atonement along the lines of reason; but when we look for the fulfilment, we find very few of the cruces—whether philosophical or historical—dealt with at all profoundly. In fact the second half of the book is almost wholly devotional, and would be useful for devotional reading in Holy Week. This is only one instance of the lack of coherence in the volume. It covers an immense field-or rather does not cover it, but touches on it at every point. The meaning of religious terms such as Propitiation and Atonement, and especially of these terms when applied to the Sacrifice of our Lord; the main tendencies of opposition to Him in His lifetime; the nature of the Evangelic sources of information about the Passion-all these matters are discussed before we come to the devotional exposition of the last days and hours of our Lord's Passion. Naturally the book will prove provoking to any who are specialists on any one of the questions raised and so quickly answered. Further, there are no divisions of chapters from beginning to end, which renders it all the more impossible to see the wood for the trees.

It must not be supposed, however, that the book is without value. The early discussion of religious terms is well and fairly done; while the exposition of the facts of the Passion reveals a devout and prayerful mind. Moreover, a special tribute should be paid to the style of the writing, which is tranquil and dignified, and recalls the best examples of theological English prose.

205

The Wondrous Passion. By F. W. DRAKE. (Longmans. 1913.) 2s. 6d.

PROBABLY many of our readers already have had this beautiful book in their hands for Lenten reading, and we are sure they will agree that it needs no criticism. It is a book to read and re-read: it is a real addition to devotional literature. It will. we hope, rekindle fresh devotion to the adorable Passion of our Lord. To many of us worn out by reading criticism, by inquiries as to our Lord's Person and the limits of His knowledge and the aspects of His Ministry, this study of His Redeeming Work came with the power of the conviction that lay behind it of the eternal significance of that Cross, of the fullness of the Risen Life which resulted from it, of the Person of Him who was dead and is alive for evermore.

The Glory after the Passion. By the Rev. JAMES S. STONE, Rector of St. James' Church, Chicago. (Longmans. 1913.) 4s. 6d.

WE can heartily recommend this book to students or to anyone who wishes to strengthen the foundations of his belief in our Lord's Resurrection. Mr. Stone tells us in an interesting preface that the book is designed to create an atmosphere in which the reader may be led; at least that this phase of our Lord's life (after Calvary) should engage his thought and attention.

There is no doubt that the opinion that Jesus Christ ended His Life on Calvary is prevalent. Mrs. Humphry Ward in Richard Meynell interprets the ideas of not a few who are perhaps still reluctant to own that they have parted with the faith of Christendom. In the very first chapter Mr. Stone shews the extreme difficulty of accounting for all that happened after Calvary. Christianity indeed is the miracle. He goes on to discuss the whole doctrine of Immortality, and has some excellent words on the nature of the Self-the Ego. If that nature be spiritual, it may not be subject to the changes and conditions which belong to matter.

'When I leave the body in which I have dwelt the body decays -but it does not follow that I do anything of the sort. I have lost that instrument by which I have expressed myself as the musician may chance to lose his harp, but the loss of the instrument is not equivalent to the loss of myself. I can be separated from it but I cannot be separated from myself, or be other than myself; . . . the habitation may crumble away, and the tenant go elsewhere.'

The other view, that physical death ends all, is considered. Neither view can be proved beyond dispute; we must decide

for ourselves which view is probably right.

Mr. Stone reviews the conceptions of a future life and of the nature of that future life which have been held both before and after Christ. And he shews how needful it is that man's nature should respond to God, if the man is to accept the facts of our Lord's Life and Death and Resurrection. And hence indifference, apathy, antipathy to the ideas of God, Immortality, Christianity, induce complete inability to receive the evidences or even to weigh these evidences with impartiality. This would seem perhaps a truism, but it is one of those truths which are often forgotten. It is because we realize that the spiritual faculties require education that we plead that children may not be left to grow up without some rudimentary training. Mr. Stone has some interesting pages in this connexion on mysticism and whether mysticism is a condition of all religions. particularly of Christianity. It all depends on our definition of mysticism. It is well defined in Mr. Stone's words as a personal consciousness of the relationship of the soul to God. Experience, in fact. This varies enormously and a large number of good Christians have very little conscious experience. But they have faith, and in time may rise to conscious Love even in this life.

The mystic, as such, hardly comes into the discussion of the moral capacity for receiving the evidences of Christianity. He who relies on the external will be more affected, as Mr. Stone says, by books such as Butler's Analogy, others by the authority of the Church and the Sacraments. The mystic needs these less, or perhaps not at all, but in proportion as he is a true lover of God he increases in love for his brethren. After all many who would lay no claim to any distinct mystical experience feel that they have reached a stage when for themselves they do not need evidences of Christianity. They know and believe, and taste and see. Mr. Stone's words concerning the place of intellectualism and of mysticism in religion are absolutely true, and, as he says, the two elements are intermingled in the teaching of Holy Scripture, especially in St. John and St. Paul.

Mr. Stone has a very interesting dissertation on the Descent

into Hell, and shews that little as we understand how to interpret this article of the Creed there is comfort and teaching in it.

'To some extent at least, it is conceivable that the Descent indicates that our Divine Redeemer has been down into the depths of sin; that He has carried His Salvation to the lowest region of

moral and spiritual wickedness.

'Let the interpretation, however, be what it may, it is clear enough that from the very beginning the Descent was thought of as displaying the glory of Christ. He passes into the prison house of the dead . . . and sets the captive free.'

Following this comes an excellent study of the Resurrection. Mr. Stone shews how really baseless is the idea that the myths of Osiris and of Adonis gave rise to the belief in Christ's Resurrection. He analyzes the accounts of the appearances of the Lord and St. Paul's teaching: all he says is well worth study, it is thoughtful and reasonable, and does seem to indicate that there are real difficulties in the way of those who dispute these evangelical narratives. He rightly says that the Resurrection of the Lord was not regarded by the disciples as a natural event. It was to them 'a unique act of divine and supernatural power.' Christianity is founded on this act.

The first Christians had a firm conviction that Christ was risen. As our author says, many traditions were forgotten in time; 'the confirmation of the great fact depends more on the drift of the whole than on any one incident.' And there is no indication of design in the Gospel accounts. They were not written as arguments, but to gladden the hearts of those who accepted the Risen Christ as their Lord. All that Mr. Stone says in this division of his book is extremely fresh, and he again makes his point perfectly clear: there is need of a certain moral condition before the Resurrection can be accepted, and so it was in the first days, when faith was established by the Apostles' word and the truth was realized that 'the natural man, i.e. the man who is under the dominion of the senses, receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.'

There is much in the study of the Ascension on which we should like to dwell. Mr. Stone concludes with a contrast between the world of the Apostolic Age and our own, and dwells on the difficulty the modern man has in realizing that the facts on which Christianity rests are facts, not allegories or romances. As he rightly says, it is often indolence, refusal to study our religion, which prevents men from considering these facts as

real. The last few pages of this book are really the best. Mr. Stone again calls attention to the truth, which cannot be too often and too loudly proclaimed, that Christ was preached by the Apostles as One Who died and rose, and Who therefore, since He went down to Hades, has made the place of the departed the home of holy souls. And He has given us the assurance of life.

'Life has come out of death, and hope from the darkness of the grave. Men are conquering sin by the power of the Cross, and by that same power are facing in confidence the unknown. The Lord descended into the depths—so can they. Their Lord came back again to life and ascended into the Heavens—so will they.'

We cannot but hope that this book will be widely read, and especially by American Churchmen. A modern successor to Robert Elsmere has lately been sent out by a brilliant and accomplished American writer. The American Church must be prepared to meet his attacks and to succour the souls he has wounded. There is much in Mr. Stone's book, so sober and sane and steadfast, which will be very useful, but, alas! for one who will read a theological treatise, a hundred will read a brilliant attack couched in the form of a novel.

Celestial Fire, A Book of Meditations on the 'Veni Sancte Spiritus.' Written in the seventeenth century by RICHARD WHITE. Re-edited by E. M. GREEN, with Preface by REV. GEORGE CONGREVE, S.S.J.E. (Longmans. 1913.) 2s. 6d. net.

Among the devotional writings of the Seventeenth century there are few more moving than this little work which has been reedited by Miss Green. Apart from its linguistic interest, which is considerable and which remains in spite of modernized spelling, the story of its republication is an interesting piece of literary history, if only as an illustration of the ease with which a printed book may become almost entirely forgotten in less than forty years. And we think that all who read it, and these should be very many, will feel grateful for having had placed within their reach the outpouring of a devout spirit without singularity and without pretence. As Fr. Congreve says in a beautiful little preface:

'The writer does not set himself to teach us about God; he is not discussing the theological questions of his day with us. He is alone with God, opening his heart to God only. If we overhear these

sacred confidences, it is as it were from outside. This gives a special character to every page. There is no adjusting of the relation to God with relations to society, such as the religious books of our own day generally give us. In the actual presence of God the soul sees nothing but its own misery and the infinite need of God. "Come, Holy Ghost," our author cries, "and convert me into thyself, that I may become all a flame of divine love, and that no thought may live within my heart but the love of God, and love of my neighbour, that all I tend to may be love, and what is not love I may be a stranger to.""

#### IV.—MISSIONS.

Kurds and Christians. Edited by the Rev. F. N. Heazell, M.A., and Mrs. Margoliouth. (Wells Gardner, Darton and Co. 1913.) 3s. 6d. net.

This is a very interesting description, with the sub-title 'Assyrian Christians in Kurdistan,' of the life and circumstances of an old-world Christian people (variously known as Nestorians, East Syrians, Assyrians, though they commonly call themselves Syrians), and of the work of the 'Archbishop's Assyrian Mission' among them. It was a happy thought of the editors to gather together extracts from papers and letters by missionaries and others written during the last twenty-five years and to present them to the public in this permanent form. It will be remembered by the reader that the various papers were written at different times, and approximately synchronize with the events narrated; the editors have left them as they were written, and by this arrangement the reader can see, by reading the later chapters, how far the expectations of the earlier writers have been fulfilled.

The people treated of in this book live partly in Persia and partly in Turkey. The conditions of life among those who live under the Shah have always been more favourable than those of their brethren, and now that the Russians have 'occupied' the greater part of Azerbaijan province, law and order is more likely to prevail among them. But life in the mountains of Kurdistan is still most precarious. We commend to the attention of our readers the account in this book of the murder in 1896 of Mar Gauriel (Gabriel) and his companions by Kurds, when on a visit to the Matran (or Metropolitan) in the mountains. The Kurdish Sheikh who ordered the murders was never punished. Nor have matters mended much since then. There

are two interesting passages in this book with reference to the new régime in Turkey, the first written in 1909, the second in 1911; and it is sad to read how the hopes entertained at the beginning of the new state of things had been falsified by the time that the later writing was penned. Life and property of the Christians in these remote parts are now as much as ever at the mercy of the Kurds and of the rapacious Government officials.

An excellent description is given of the educational work of the Assyrian Mission. Twenty years ago the centre of gravity of the work was at Urmi, in Persia. Now that, with the goodwill of the Archbishop's Mission, the Russian missionaries have taken over most of the work in the Persian plains, and that the Russian military and civil officials are reducing the province of Azerbaijan, the garden of Persia, to some semblance of civilization, the centre of gravity of our Mission has shifted to Asiatic Turkey, where the Patriarch and Metropolitan live. as do the bulk of the people themselves. The headquarters of the Mission at the present moment are at Amadia, a city in the southern portion of the East Syrians' country (but in the mountains of Kurdistan), some 60 miles north of Mosul. The work here is more difficult than in Persia, but it is more important; and we need have no cause for discontent that political events have caused the change. The descriptions of the work are supplemented by several good illustrations taken from photographs, both of places and of people. There is a pleasing picture of the young Patriarch, Mar Shimun, whose task is no light one, and who deserves our sincere sympathy; and another of a young bishop sent out from Kurdistan to India (clad in a thoroughly Western cope and mitre), who was, as a little 'boy-bishop' or nātir kūrsi, a scholar of the Mission Schools in their early days. From among the missionaries themselves death has taken its toll-Arthur Jervis, Sister Katharine Mildred, and William Henry Browne; Dr. Browne had served the Mission from its commencement in 1886 to his death in 1010.

It is difficult to estimate the results of this unique Mission, which has now continued for more than a quarter of a century, for in this case there cannot be, as in missions to the heathen, records of baptisms and conversions. But the advantage of our system of helping the Old East Syrian Church without drawing away any of its members from it is that whatever improvement our Mission may effect is all to the good, whatever the Church's future may be. There can be no doubt

that the Old Syrian Christians in the Urmi plain were handed over to the Russian Church in 1897 in a much better state than when the Archbishop's Mission began in 1886. And so it is with the mountaineers. They are gradually learning, however slowly, the meaning of vital religion; and we may be sure that the unselfish work of the English Church in quickening their spiritual life will have its fruit, whatever their ultimate destiny may be. The difficulties are enormous, and are increased by their very virtues as well as by their faults. But they are a lovable race, who have stubbornly refused to desert their Christianity; and they are well worth all the labour we can expend in helping them.

## V.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

A Dictionary of English Church History. Edited by S. L. Ollard, M.A., Vice-Principal and Tutor of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, assisted by Gordon Crosse, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. With two Maps. (Mowbray. 1912.) 12s. 6d. net.

THE best, in fact the only true, test of a dictionary is in the using, and the reviewer who has used this one for some eight or nine months and is now called upon for very shame to pay his debt by a short notice may be allowed to set down some candid impressions of it as he has found it. In the first place as a work of reference it is in certain directions undoubtedly useful. It contains an account of the history of the English and Welsh sees and that of Sodor and Man with a dated list of their occupants and biographies (many of them of adequate length and quality) of those whom the Editor considers more important. Some of the earlier of these would gain considerably from a better indication of the sources upon which the account is based, and among those of later date the biographies of some of the Nineteenthcentury Archbishops of Canterbury seem to prefer gossip to history and epigram to truth. The only unsigned article (so far as we have observed)-that on Archbishop Tait-is a regrettable specimen of partisan writing and is quite unworthy of a place in a Dictionary. Fortunately the general level is a much higher one and the lives of Bishops Creighton and King are fairer specimens. We should have liked a biography of Archbishop Secker, and that of Bishop Butler needs revision in one or two points. It is rather startling to find that Bishop Stubbs' biographer in dealing with the controversy with Maitland entirely ignores the significant changes introduced in the

notes to the third edition of the Lectures on Mediaeval and

Modern History and only quotes the second.

To the bishops are added lives of those sovereigns of England who are regarded, it must be supposed, as having chiefly influenced the history of the English Church, to wit, Alfred, Cnut, Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth, and Charles I only. The selection seems to leave something to be desired and the first would be made more useful by the addition of a few references. To some extent, however, the omissions are compensated for by the general articles on different periods of the history, to which reference is facilitated by a useful index at the end of the book. Among these articles, e.g. Lollards, Reformation, Commonwealth, Puritans, Nonconformity. Oxford Movement, &c., are some of considerable length in comparison with the usual rather rigid limitation of space, and several of them, especially that on Nonconformity, will be found of great service. There are occasional statements in it, e.g. as to the Westminster Assembly, as to the first English Baptist congregation and John Smith, and as to Henry Jacob, which seem to need further explanation, but as a whole it is a well-marshalled and dispassionate statement of facts and principles such as students have a right to expect in a Dictionary. The least satisfactory articles in this section seem to us those connected specifically with the Commonwealth period; the last two paragraphs of that on 'Commonwealth, Church under the,' suffer from undue compression and are liable to leave an erroneous impression on the mind of the reader. It is a curious instance of the irony of history that both Calamy and Walker share the same neglect of recognition among the lives of eminent English and Welsh churchmen and writersa section which includes, however, many admirable articles. As before, some are rather unduly cramped and a few seem to suffer from a doubt in the writer's mind as to the end which the Dictionary is intended to serve. To take three examples from one writer: the two articles on Gauden and Eikon Basilike taken together succeed in giving the inquirer what he is likely to want to know; that on Robert Boyle, from which we learn where he went to church but not what he wrote, is of little use. There does not seem to be any reference to Chillingworth and incidentally we note an instance of faulty classification. If few readers, we imagine, will look for 'Eucharist' under 'Holy' or 'Prayer Book' under 'Common Prayer' probably fewer still will look for Giraldus Cambrensis under 'Gerald de Barri.'

For Thomas Charles we are referred to Llandaff, where we fail to find him, and to 'Nonconformity, V,' where we learn little about him. It would probably have been wise to include John Elias, and in fairness the article on Griffith Jones should not have omitted all reference to the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities to his self-sacrificing efforts in the cause of education. The studies of personalities so different as Cardinal Manning, Dr. Pusey, Frederick Denison Maurice, and Charles Simeon, all from the same pen, will be read with interest, and also those on John Keble and Cardinal Newman; but the one of Stanley is spoilt by a glaring example of bad taste in the reference to his marriage.

When we pass to the sections dealing with Church organization-Bishops, Councils, Convocation, Canons, Courts, Discipline, Peculiars, Proctors, Rural Deans, Tithe and the like-we have a series in which most students will find useful information. even if they will often desiderate a clearer distinction of what is ascertained fact from what is only matter of opinion. A future edition would do well to include a list of English Councils with dates, a section on York Convocation and its constitution. a better account of the canons, a fuller section on clergy discipline (all cases of deprivation of bishops should be given, and modern practice might be better explained), and a revision of some of the statements as to Doctors' Commons and the Peculiars of Canterbury. The articles on Societies, Religious Orders, and Missions are all useful if somewhat confined: but that on Theological Colleges is confusing rather than instructive. Liturgical and quasi-liturgical subjects—Sarum Use, Common Prayer, Coronations, Hymns, Music, Musicians, Plainsong, Vestments, Dress of the Clergy—are dealt with in articles which contain much information in a small compass, and some of the archaeological articles, e.g. Abbeys (English and Welsh), Monasteries, Architecture and Stained Glass, and quasi-historical ones, e.g. that on Reunion, also well repay study. There are singularly few misprints for a work of this size. The writer on Oxford is represented as undecided between 'Ronensis' and 'Reonensis,' Toplady's parish is misspelt, and we are surprised to learn that Hort wrote a book on the 'Anti-Nicene' Fathers.

Diocesis Wyntoniensis. Registrum Iohannis de Pontissara.
Pars Prima. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications.'
Part XXXIII. March 1913. (London: 124 Chancery Lane.)

Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCXXVII-MCCCXLIV. Edited by W. W. CAPES, M.A., Canon of Hereford. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications.' Part XXXIV. June 1913. (London: 124 Chancery Lane.)

Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper, S.T.P., Bishop of Lincoln. A.D. 1571 to A.D. 1584. Edited by C. W. Foster, M.A., Vicar of Timberland and Canon of Lincoln. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications, Extra Part 1912–13. (London: 124 Chancery Lane. 1913.) Subscription one guinea per annum.

THE subscribers to the Canterbury and York Society have cause to congratulate themselves upon a most excellent result of the year and one which it is to be hoped will encourage others to help them in the invaluable work which they are doing in printing early episcopal records. Those who join will certainly have reason to acknowledge that their guinea has been well spent as well as the satisfaction of rendering an increased output possible. Each of the three parts under review, two of which are fairly substantial volumes in themselves, contains a mass of material (in the way of ordinations, institutions and collations etc.) for parochial history as well as documents which have a wider interest for the general history of Church and State, such as the four letters of Boniface VIII in the first part relating to the disputes of Edward and Philip of France in regard to Gascony; the documents relating to the 'irregularity' incurred by the Priory of Merton in making a subsidy to the King for fear of loss of their temporal goods; the grant to the King in 1301 of a tenth for six years for the purpose of a Crusade: the collections of Peter's pence, which yielded in the diocese of Hereford 121. in the two years 1328, 1329; the King's wars against the Scots in 1336 and the prayers for the success of his arms, coupled with apprehensions of a junction between the Scots and French on the one hand and of the 'effrenata levitas' of the turbulent members of the Bishop of Hereford's flock in the Welsh marches. As King Edward enjoins him to ensure by his industrious circumspection that the 'beauty of peace and quietness may flourish' and that they should bear themselves modeste in omnibus et quiete the Bishop may well have reflected ruefully that less than three years before when he had ventured into the diocese of Llandaff these troublesome Welshmen-satellites of Satan, he calls them-had set upon

him and his party in church, shot arrows at them, 'violently stricken us and our attendants, carried off our silver vessels. nay rather vessels belonging to our cathedral Church of Hereford and otherwise inhumanely treated us,' whereby they have clearly incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication according to the Clementine Constitution. References to canon law in these registers are nearly always interesting. Thus in that of John de Pontissara may be found two useful examples of the effect of the provisions of the Council of Lyons in 1274 against pluralities and also, it must be added, of the way in which they could be evaded; while in 1291 the division of the benefice of Hursley between a rector and a vicar is disallowed as contrary to the council of Tours in 1163. We have not space to deal with the many illuminating examples of treatment of benefices and of monastic foundations which this register affords. The admission of clerks not in sacred orders to benefices (e.g. North Stoneham and Ellisfield St. Martin) with injunctions to prepare for them, the admission of minors—the cure being supplied through a custodian—with provisions from the revenues for defraying the cost of the presentee's education, are fairly common features; but it is fair to add that the living of Thruxton was declared vacant in 1291 owing to the rector's failure to obtain priest's orders within three years. Investiture is frequently stated to have taken place with the Bishop's ring or his pilleus.

Some of the monastic documents are full of interest. There is a very elaborate series connected with the election of a Prior of St. Swithun's, Winchester, secundum formam compromissi, and another in which the Prior and convent undertake to submit themselves in certain contingencies to the Official of the Court of Canterbury. Bishop John was somewhat of a disciplinarian: in his visitation of the Priory of Newark the penalty of bread and water is ordered to be strictly enforced in the case of recalcitrant brothers; in that of the Convent of Eberwell injunctions are given that silence is to be better kept; in that of Romsey Abbey the abbess is threatened with the greater excommunication unless she prevents the nuns wandering abroad and makes them get up earlier in the morning to sing their offices; and their chaplains are ordered on pain of suspension not to presume to celebrate the magna missa later than 9 A.M. All needful help to the student is given in abstracts and notes, and these will be found useful for future reading. We wonder how many would be prepared to date off-hand an entry 'secundo die Lune post Oculi mei'?

Canon Foster's collection of Lincoln records of the time of Bishop Cooper—almost entirely in English—is of extraordinary interest and service. It is taken partly from Registers and partly from other documents, such as the Liber Cleri etc. It is a curious survival that we find in the parish of Craneboo, where apparently plays of 'poppettes' and morris dances still took place in the church, for the rector was suspended and fined 3s.  $4\tilde{d}$ , for allowing them. A sign of an attempt at reform in other directions is seen in the refusal of institution of a rector of Wybarton on the ground of insufficiency, with an injunction to spend six months in study, while the clergy of Leicestershire; who seem to have had great difficulty in preaching the sermons required of them, are enjoined to club together to pay for able and sufficient preachers to perform the duty for them. There are many really interesting notes on individuals, including the notorious John Dee, who determined by astrology the suitable day for Elizabeth's coronation but was not regarded by ecclesiastical authorities with as much favour as by the Queen. And incidentally we notice a series of notes of law cases, some of them of considerable importance, and an appendix on some of those elusive and troublesome persons, the Bishops in partibus who acted as suffragans to English diocesans.

# The Minority of Henry III. By KATE NORGATE. (Macmillan and Co. 1912.) 8s. 6d. net.

A QUARTER of a century has elapsed since Miss Norgate published her fascinating and authoritative study of England under the Angevin Kings. That work, the product of eleven years of laborious research, was admittedly inspired by John Richard Green. It was written in his spirit, from his standpoint, and in a style not unlike his in its picturesque vivacity. It served to fill in with effective detail the broad outlines supplied in the Short History of the English People. In 1902 Miss Norgate continued her narrative in a volume on John Lackland. pages of this book are equally eloquent of the influence of the ' dear and honoured master' to whose encouragement the earlier work had been due; for in them Miss Norgate strives to maintain one of the most eccentric and least defensible of I. R. Green's opinions, viz. that John was the ablest, as well as the wickedest and most ruthless, of the Angevins. Now, after a ten years' interval, Miss Norgate carries her story from 1216 to 1227, and gives us the record of the political events of the

minority of Henry III. In this work, which bears many evidences of leisurely and scrupulously careful production, there are more originality and independence of judgement than in either of its predecessors. Several historical verdicts are reconsidered. For instance, Hubert de Burgh is taken down from his high pedestal of patriotism, and is made to appear factious and self-seeking; while, on the other hand, Peter des Roches, the papal legates, and even the adventurer Falkes de Bréauté, are treated with more sympathy and appreciation, and we may add with more justice, than is usual. Miss Norgate always states her case so forcibly, and supports her argument by so many precise references to authorities, that one feels that her views, even when they diverge most widely from those sanctified by tradition, demand careful consideration.

The eleven years whose history Miss Norgate summarizes in the volume before us were among the most critical in the annals of England. The period opened in the midst of civil war and foreign invasion; the kingdom had just been surrendered by John to the Papacy to be held as a feudal fief, so that the government had to adapt itself to the novel conditions in which not only ecclesiastical supremacy but also political sovereignty resided in Rome; the royal power had been further restricted by John's concession of Magna Carta, a concession which, however, John (supported by his suzerain, the Pope) had subsequently repudiated, and concerning which a furious conflict was raging; and to crown all, for the first time since the Norman Conquest the king was a minor, and there were thus no precedents to guide the distracted loyalists in their gigantic task of establishing a strong executive pending Henry's majority. Miss Norgate shews in a detailed narrative how the difficulties of this critical time were overcome, and how comparative order was brought out of chaos. She attributes, and rightly attributes, the honour of this notable achievement primarily to two great men, William the Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and Gualo, papal legate. Her sketch of the great Marshall is singularly attractive. It shews a man who in an age of violence and treachery rose to the position of supreme influence by sheer force of chivalric virtue. Even more interesting is her account of the work of Gualo, because it proves incidentally the reality of the papal overlordship to which John had subjected the kingdom. It was Gualo who, as representing the superior lord of a fief in wardship, summoned and presided over the first Council of the young king. To him, as the Pope's

delegate, Henry did homage for his kingship of England and his lordship of Ireland. He took a prominent part in the royal coronation, and according to the best authorities (which, however, here Miss Norgate declines to follow) himself placed the circlet on the king's head. He excommunicated the enemies of the young monarch, and ensured the success of the war against them by investing it with the sanctity of a crusade. After the death of the Marshall the legatine authority, then in the hands of Gualo's successor, Pandulf, was made effective in every branch of the administration. In particular it took under its absolute control the department of the Treasury, so that without Pandulf's consent no payment of any kind could be made. Miss Norgate shews, however, not only the reality of the feudal overlordship of the Papacy but also the devotion of the legates to what they conceived to be the best interests of the great fief which they were called upon to administer. Not only did Henry III owe his crown to them---a fact the consciousness of which made him the grateful servant of the Church to the end of his days-but the country, too, was largely indebted to them for restoration from anarchy.

Miss Norgate has much to tell us in the course of her narrative of the struggle for the Charters, of the vain efforts of the English to keep possession of the French provinces, of the constant conflicts along the Scottish frontier and in the marches of Wales, and above all of the lawlessness of the times, of the turbulence of the barons, of the feebleness of the central government, and of the doubtful war which civilization even yet waged with barbarism in this island.

It is rarely indeed that Miss Norgate can be detected in error; but she is certainly wrong (p. 11) in her treatment of the writ *Praecipe*, which was used to call up a case from a local to the royal court. Clause thirty-four of the Great Charter, which ends with *unde liber homo amittere possit curiam suam*, does not mean, as Miss Norgate supposes, 'where a freeman might thereby be deprived of the means of obtaining justice,' but rather 'might lose the privilege of holding his court'; the question at issue is a right of administering, not of obtaining, justice. Probably also Miss Norgate is wrong in speaking of Joan, who in 1206 was married to Llywelyn of Wales, as daughter of John by his first wife Isabel of Gloucester. If she had been such no papal decree of legitimation of the nature of that issued by Pope Honorius would have been necessary.

These, however, are very trivial points. The book as a

whole is one of enduring value and of absorbing interest. It is much to be hoped that Miss Norgate will continue her researches, and will give us a history of the personal government of Henry III.

- I. The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550–1641). By Champlin Burrage, Hon. M.A. (Brown University), B.Litt. (Oxon.). Two Volumes. I. History and Criticism. II. Illustrative Documents. Illustrated. (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 20s. net.
- 2. The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum. By L. F. Brown, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Wellesley College. (Washington: American Historical Association. London: Frowde. 1912.) 6s. 6d. net.
- 3. The Story of the Cambridge Baptists and the Struggle for Religious Liberty. By B. Nutter, M.A. (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 1912.) 2s. 6d. net.

WITH the last quarter of the Nineteenth century began a remarkable quickening of interest in the early history of Nonconformity which has resulted in the production of a great number of volumes. The quantity of contemporary MS. and printed material available is so enormous that the flow may be expected to continue for some years to come and in its course to sweep away many unavoidable misconceptions of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries in earlier books; while it is not unreasonable to hope that the unwonted assimilation of the results of quiet patient research may in time do something to allay religious animosities by restraining the too imaginative flights of rhetorical politicians and popular preachers. The first two of the books before us represent such research in progress, the third is of a less specialized kind; but of all three it can be said that, while each may contain some statements that we should not feel able to accept. their general temper is utterly alien to that of men who misapply to modern conditions historical data misunderstood; and, if we differ, it is with respect, and confidence of a better understanding later on. Mr. Nutter will not find Churchmen unwilling to reciprocate his feeling when he says in the preface :-

'In case this book falls into the hands of a Churchman, let me say how deeply I should be grieved if any sentence gave offence. . . . I should be pleased if this book, with all its limitations, helped a Churchman to understand that if a young Free Churchman knew

anything of the history of Nonconformity, it would be quite natural for him to feel that certain traditions had been handed down to him from his forefathers, which it ought to be his duty to guard and cherish.'

Mr. Burrage's two volumes are of a kind which fills the heart of the bibliographer and the research worker with delight, and it is safe to say that every student of the period will in future find it advisable to consult them if only for the amount of trouble which its wealth of documentary material will save him. It would be difficult to exaggerate the interest of the papers relating to Barrow, Penry, Jacob, the earliest English Anabaptists etc., collected in the second volume from various sources including the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam. The first volume suffers a little in style from an over-anxiety to emphasize the number of the points of novelty in the writer's conclusions, after the manner of a thesis, which leaves the impression in some parts of heaviness and lack of proportion. But the reader who will not allow himself to be deterred will be amply repaid by such chapters as those on the history before 1612, Puritanism and Separatism until 1581, Robert Browne, the Barrowists, and the English congregations of Anabaptists and Independents. Burrage's contribution to the elucidation of the history of John Penry is well known and his investigation of se-baptism and establishment of Baptist congregations earlier than that of the followers of John Smith is of considerable interest. His opinions are expressed with a frankness which, so far as we have observed. is entirely free from bitterness and a sufficient detachment to enable him to retain a sense of humour. Most readers will feel inclined to smile with him as they read his transcript of the reasons for objecting to the various articles of attire adopted by the widow who was wooed by Francis Johnson 'the Bishop of Brownisme' while he was imprisoned in the Clink. They are faithfully set forth by her brother-in-law George Johnson in a printed book with detailed Scriptural reasons for his protest against (1) the wearing of a long busk after the fashion of the world, (2) 'wearing of the long white brest,' cut low, (3) 'whalebones in the bodies of peticotes,' (4) ' great sleeves sett out with whalebones,' (5) excess of lace upon them, (6) 'Foure or five gould Rings on at once,' (7) 'a copple crowned hatt with a twined band. . . . Immodest & toyish in a Pastor's wife,' (8) 'Tucked aprons, like round hose,' (9) 'excesse in rufs, laune, coives. muske, & such like things,' (10) 'The painted Hipocritical brest, shewing as if there were some special workes, and in truth nothing but a shadow,' (II) 'Bodies tied to the peticote with points, as men do their dublets to their hose,' while (I2) 'Some also reporte that she laid forth her heare (? hair).' When it is also related that she 'stoode gazing, bracing or vaunting in shop doores,' quaffed wine so as to excite remark from a papist, 'laide in bedd on the Lordes day till 9 a clock,' and did not willingly visit the poor, it will be realized that she was as likely to excite remark as the parsons' wives for whose selection Queen Elizabeth took further but (human nature being what it is) quite ineffectual order. Of the Middleburg congregation Mr. Burrage even goes so far as to say, though not we should judge without reason, that 'like that of the Marian exiles at Frankfort, [it] seems to have become a veritable hornet's nest.'

There are one or two points in which it seems to us that correction or at any rate re-examination is desirable. The Christian name of Dr. Wilkins is misspelt, i. 41, 45. There are discrepancies in regard to Archbishop Abbot's letter, i. 66 and ii. 170, in regard to one of which we will go so far as to say that if either reading given were right the letter would be stamped not only as not original but a forgery—and we see no reason to think that it is that. The comment in the former passage seems to the reviewer unfounded, just as that on Bishop Hall (i. 241) is clearly based on a misapprehension of the Bishop's meaning. The extraordinary reading 'Flanteclex' (ii. 42) should be indexed under 'Llanteglos' since there is not the slightest

doubt as to the place meant.

Miss Brown's book is definitely a study of political activity and deals with the relations to the English Government during the Interregnum of two religious parties, which as she says 'by a large majority of their contemporaries were considered enemies of all government and sworn foes of peace and order.' In spite of the very large number of references on each page, after a fashion which American scholars have borrowed from Germany, the book is easy to read and occasional touches of humour readily excuse a somewhat too resolute determination to make the best of the people of whom it is written. The spirited account of the Little Parliament of 1653 makes us regret the more the apparent absence of any reference to the few but illuminating instances of earlier political action which may be gathered from the records of the proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, and a fuller account of the steps which led to the establishment of the Protectorate. It must be admitted that the result of such chapters as 'Protector and

Saints,' 'Saints in Prison and Out,' etc. is to place Cromwell in a more favourable light than that in which he has sometimes been viewed: and there is considerable truth in the observation that 'if any people in England heartily wished for the release of the "Lord's prisoners" it was those who had them in custody." Some no doubt of the Saints were willing, like William Aspinwall in 1656, to allow that 'while waiting for the Fifth Monarchy it is right for the saints to obey the Fourth, and even hold office under it, however corrupt it may be,' and unless our recollection is greatly at fault an examination of the proceedings of the various Committees which dealt with Church property would shew that some of them had little scruple at deriving their maintenance as ministers from tithes. To others, however, the Protectorate was evidently set forth as the rule of the Beast in Rev. xi. and therefore doomed to end on 16 June, 1657, with the same certainty as Cromwell was the 'vile person' of Dan. xi. 21 or the Little Horn; while songs such as 'The Protector shall go down forty times together ' are irresistibly suggestive of 'MacPherson swore a feud Against the clan MacTavish.' Unwilling to recognize any authority save Scripture (as interpreted by themselves) they saw nothing incongruous in such a mode of argument as that adopted by Christopher Feake when released by Cromwell with leave to live in a small town and an injunction to stay there. Clearly he was in the same case as St. Peter and St. John in Acts iv: supposing they had been enjoined to confine themselves to such a village as Saron or Toppa:

'Suppose, I say, an order had come to them on that account, signed by either of their highnesses Ananias H. or Caiaphas H. like this with Oliver P. do you think they would have obeyed it, and been confined to a village? We find the contrary, for they preached the more boldly in the city of Jerusalem. Then having my warrant here from the scripture, I resolved for London, notwithstanding the order of Oliver P.'

While the general Baptists had formally recognized the Protectorate in 1654, Cromwell's hands were forced to some extent as time went on by signs of a drawing together of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men. What the ultimate result might have been it is not possible to tell, for his life was cut short and we have, as it seems to Miss Brown, 'the curious anomaly of the most tolerant man of his age going down to his grave at odds with the two bodies of Englishmen which advocated the widest religious liberty' (Baptists and Quakers).

223

To Miss Brown's study of the work of Henry Cromwell in Ireland we can do no more than make a passing reference, for we must turn to Mr. Nutter's little Cambridge book. The scope of this is necessarily more restricted and the treatment is more popular. It has been criticized in some quarters, a little unfairly, for not being something different from what its author intended it to be: but after all religious movements are not wholly described in terms of great principles or considerations of high policy, and there is much to be learnt from the unexciting annals of simple people. For this reason we are glad to have the stories of life in some of the little Cambridgeshire villages, even though, like the reading of the Visitation returns of the diocese of Ely for more than a century, they must sometimes fill Churchmen with a deep sense of shame and humiliation. And if some of the incidents recorded seem strange and even grotesque to modern minds it would probably create an equal sensation of surprise if we were to read of the present Archbishop of Canterbury engaging in a wrestling match with the Head of a House, as Bancroft did with Chaderton, the first Master of Emmanuel. The discussion of the Act of Uniformity—in regard to which Mr. Nutter takes a rather unusual view for one of his opinions-and its consequences in Cambridgeshire, the studies of Robert Robinson and Robert Hall, and the illustrations of the varying attitude of the University, are all alike of interest.

Byways in British Archaeology. By Walter Johnson, F.G.S. (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.

In this interesting and learned volume the author's aim appears to be to trace to a pagan origin much that is usually regarded as Christian and comparatively modern. To what extent he has succeeded in this attempt is a matter on which there may be room for some difference of opinion, but there is no doubt whatever that many of our Christian customs, like the names of the days of the week, can be traced to pagan times and customs. These are discussed under the heads of churches on pagan sites, the secular uses of the church fabric, the orientation of churches and graves, burial customs, the cardinal points, the yew, the horse, and the ox. Under each subject a large amount of ascertained facts will be found, and on these the reader may form his own conclusions. It is well known that some churches are on pagan sites, but it is not known how many there may be. And it is only natural that the best and most commanding sites

would be chosen for pagan temples, and that when paganism passed away, these sites would still be adopted for churches, not only as being the best in themselves, but as being associated with the former and to some extent surviving religious sentiments of the people. Attention has lately been directed to the former secular uses of churches in early times which would surprise some of our readers. The church was not only the place of worship but the parish hall, and we have a survival of its secular uses in the posting of notices on or near its principal door. The first idea of orientation is clearly pagan, and based upon the rising sun, though it was not universally acted on, nor is it now. In the British long barrows, the long axis generally runs east and west. The familiar churchvard grave-mound is thought to be a successor of the long barrow, and in a certain sense it is. Pagan and Christian alike wished to shew respect to the dead by raising a visible memorial over their bodies. A Lincolnshire sexton who had buried three wives side by side. on being asked why there were only two mounds, explained that the last had not been a good wife to him, so he had 'flattened her down,' while on the other hand he had carefully tended the mounds of the others. Much of great interest has been collected concerning burial customs and the long persistence of some that were undoubtedly pagan at first. The cardinal points are, as we have seen, connected with orientation, but also with the strong feeling that long prevailed against burial on the north side of churches, as to which much information is given. And before we come to the folklore of the yew-tree, we have quite an exhaustive account of its natural history; then follows a full statement of the various reasons that have been given for the planting of yews in churchyards. The cult of the horse in pagan times is supposed to account for the disuse of its flesh for food among Christian people, perhaps a reaction or protest against pagan custom. But horses' skulls have often been found walled up in Christian churches, and whether as a pagan survival or not, they were supposed to 'cause an echo' and to improve the sound of the singing, etc. From these there may have been a transition on to the 'acoustic pots' embedded in many church walls all over Europe with the idea of improving the sound, though what was pure superstition in the case of the horses' skulls was supposed to have a scientific basis in that of the open-mouthed jars. Lastly we have a very interesting account of 'the labour'd ox' from the earliest historical times to the present day. Until the Eighteenth century the ox was almost the only animal yoked to cart, plough, and harrow; since that time it has been gradually superseded by the horse, which by judicious breeding has become a much better animal. Oxen that went on hard roads were shod with a plate of iron on each half of the hoof, and a man who made his will in the Fifteenth century described himself an an ox-shoer. How the horse came to supersede the ox as a working beast is very fully shewn, and this is altogether a most interesting chapter.

In conclusion we may remark that the volume under notice contains ninety-nine excellent illustrations, with a list of them,

and also an index, well arranged in sixty-four columns.

There are two or three matters that seem to call for correction. 'Bede's chair' so called, at Jarrow, is made wholly of wood; there must be some mistake on p. 43, where it appears as 'an ancient sacred stone, which has been chiselled into shape by modern masons.' 'The gnawing tooth of Time' (p. 100) is scarcely a scientific expression. There is nothing very 'astounding' about the 'dance' of the Seizes at Seville (p. 185). It is a solemn and graceful walking about to sacred music, nothing like what we commonly call dancing. At p. 244 the author of one of the Marprelate tracts (A.D. 1589) is mentioned as 'the tractarian,' a term which reads oddly in this connexion. At p. 327 Livy is classed with Virgil as a Latin poet. And at p. 470 is the misprint of 'vis inertia' (sic). Such slips as these last two, however, and they are the only ones that we have noted, detract nothing from the general interest and value of the book.

### VI.—TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

Trans-Himalaya. Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet. By SVEN HEDIN. Vol. III. (Macmillan and Co., 1913.) 15s. net.

This book relates Sir Sven Hedin's journeys in parts of Tibet which had been either omitted or briefly noticed in his former volumes of 'Trans-Himalaya.' It describes the explorer's travels in the valleys of the Upper Indus and Sutlej, which lie in the heart of Tibet. He gives a review of all the explorations which have touched the margin of the Trans-Himalaya ranges, and in several chapters he describes the attempts of European and native explorers to unravel the mysteries of the sacred Tibetan lake of Manasarowar. His narrative in the present volume begins on September 11, 1907, at the source of the Indus in the

Oct.

great Central Plateau of Tibet or Chang-tang. After journeying for a few days over the south-west corner of the immense tableland, he left it and descending into the valley of the Indus reached Gartok. There are two places of this name, which are only a few days apart, and are the summer and winter residences of the Tibetan viceroys. The country consists of great barren plains, shut in by arid mountains capped with snow. Sven Hedin followed the course of the Indus downwards towards the north-west, and, passing the monastery of Tashi-gang, reached Kashmirian territory in safety. Leaving the valley of the Indus he climbed the mountains into the basin of the Pang-gong Lake, where he prepared another expedition into Tibet. The account of the second journey starts on June 30, 1908, from Selipuk monastery which stands on the southern edge of the great plateau of the Chang-tang. Descending from this table-land, Sven Hedin reached the Holy Lakes of Manasarowar and Rakas Tal, which he had explored in 1907. In summer the vast plains around these lakes, which are 15,000 feet above the sea, are covered with rich grass, on which the Tibetan nomads feed immense flocks of sheep. The Trans-Himalaya range rises to the north of these lakes, and runs due east as far as Lhasa, forming the northern boundary of the valley of the Sanpoo or Brahmapootra, and constituting at the same time the southern boundary of the great central plateau of Tibet or Chang-tang. Sven Hedin crossed this range eight times; its peaks are lower but its passes are higher than those of the Himalaya. Leaving the Holy Lakes, Sven Hedin journeyed down the valley of the upper Sutlej towards the west. The country is extraordinary. The river and its tributaries flow through an endless succession of gorges and chasms many hundreds of feet in depth. The loose earth and clay rise in endless spires and towers, and the land is cut up into myriads of abysses. The villages and monasteries are at the bottom of these profound chasms. Passing the monasteries of Daba and Totling the explorer reached the village of Shipki, which is the last in Tibet. Here he crossed a lofty range and reached British territory in the State of Spiti. He continued to descend the Sutlei, the valley increasing in breadth and fertility as he went westwards. He then bade farewell to the river which he had followed for more than two hundred miles, from the Holy Lakes to Rampur in the State of Bashar, which is in British territory. A lofty forest-clad range was next crossed, and Sven Hedin reached Simla on September 15, 1908. The book is well illustrated, has a good map, and a valuable index.

- A Motor-Flight through France. By Edith Wharton Illustrated. (Macmillan.) 8s. 6d. net.
- The Seine from Havre to Paris. By SIR EDWARD THORPE. With Illustrations by O. Branson. (Macmillan. 1913.) 12s. 6d. net.
- Wayfaring in France: From the Auvergne to the Bay of Biscay. By E. H. Barker. (Macmillan. 1913.) 7s. 6d. net.

THESE three books will serve to call up many gracious memories of a pleasant land and perhaps to quicken projects for the future when, once more set free from cares, we are able with Sir Edward Thorpe (and King Henry V) to

'omit no happy hour That may give furtherance to our expedition, For we have now no thought in us but France.'

None of them indeed has the charm of Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*, nor quite the merit of Mr. Hilaire Belloc's book on the Pyrenees—the only defect of which is that its size makes it a rather uncomfortable travelling companion; but as each, for the most part, deals with a different area, covered by a different mode of progression, they may all afford enjoyment without the annoying consciousness of repetition of the same historical information in more or less the same comments.

Mrs. Wharton's book was originally published five years ago, and, as might be expected from a 'motor-flight,' covers the most ground. The writer's facile pen will almost win over those who, like the reviewer, opened it with some prejudice and still prefer a more leisurely tour to the possibility of an impression of France resembling the picture of Oxford which used to adorn the early pages of Verdant Green in the editions of our youth. We pass rapidly from Boulogne to Amiens and then via Beauvais and Rouen to Fontainebleau and by the Loire and the Indre away again from Nohant to Clermont and then into Auvergne and finally from Royat to Bourges. In the next tour we are taken from Paris to the Pyrenees by way of Poitiers and again through Provence and by the Rhone back to the Seine, while a third flight to the north-east conducts us from Paris to Laon and Soissons and back. It is rather breathless, but we enjoy it against our will.

Sir Edward Thorpe has set himself to recount the delights of a summer cruise of forty days from Havre to Paris in a steam vacht, 100 feet over all, drawing 7½ feet and requiring just under 18 feet headroom, with the very useful addition of a motor dinghy. His book contains an excellent map (printed in very convenient page sections in the volume itself) of the winding course of the Seine, which converts a distance of 112 into 230 miles. Besides this there are throughout useful practical suggestions as to management, regulations, anchorage, etc., and a sufficient store of historical information well compiled to enable a voyager to enjoy the places that he visits. In return he will probably regard with a lenient eye the trivial frivolities and even the occasional 'lapsing into poetry'-bad as it is-of the members of the party, though it must be admitted that the elements are not very skilfully combined. We wish that we had space to dwell on the manifold attractions of the voyage alike for the historical student, the artist, and the tourist. Memories rise quickly before us as we read of Harfleur and Honfleur, Lillebonne with its Roman amphitheatre, the beautiful stretch of the river between Villequier and Caudebec, the abbey of St. Wandrille, once the home of Eginhard and Durandus, now of Maurice Maeterlinck; Jumièges, the school of Edward the Confessor, whom all men honoured till he was killed by Freeman and Johnny Green, and the home of two Archbishops of Canterbury; the great abbey of St. Georges de Boscherville. and Rouen, where Twentieth century commercialism is gradually laying its gross banausic hand on the city of La Pucelle, of Corneille, and of Pascal. Or as we turn aside after Pont de l'Arche to see what is inelegantly called 'the south fifteenth century porch' of Louviers and then pursue our course to Les Andelys and the Château-Gaillard of Cœur-de-Lion, beloved of Turner; or make a pilgrimage to the curious rockhewn chapels of St. Adrien and Haute-Ile and the Hermitage of St. Sauveur with its wonderful views; or feast our eyes on the fair country round La Roche-Guyon and the riverside delights of Meulan, our minds in Rosny with its recollections of Sully, in Mantes-la-jolie of William the Conqueror and St. Thomas Aquinas, or the Poissy of St. Louis, of Edward III and Philippe le Bel, the Calvinist conference of 1561 and in more modern days of Meissonier, and at last in the venerable abbey of St. Denis, burial place of the kings of France. are scenes for many a holiday.

Mr. Barker's work, a re-arrangement of portions of three

former volumes on wayfaring in France to form a connected story of travel from Auvergne to the Bay of Biscay, is much fuller in incident and from a literary point of view much more of a 'book' than either of the other two we have dealt with. His wanderings undertaken for the most part on foot, but necessarily in some places in a kind of flat-bottomed canoe, bring us nearer to the France intime of which another aspect is given to us in the novels of René Bazin: not the France of Paris, busy, pleasure-loving, sparkling, fickle, with the welter of savagery and misery which is ever seething in the slums of a great city, but that strange medley of races as various as our own and with differences as great, with which our history has been so curiously intertwined. Poverty indeed there is, but not degradation, and we would advise those who think that rural problems can be solved by rough and ready methods or hastily drafted laws passed under the closure to read not only such Eighteenth century plans as those outlined in Lord Fitzmaurice's life of Lord Shelburne but Mr. Barker's descriptions of the peasant-proprietor in modern France, or of the system of the métayage or of the Périgordan labourer with his wage of a franc a day, often without a house, and compare them with the equally varying conditions of different parts of England to-day. To us the value of Mr. Barker's chapters seems to lie mainly in the fact that they are faithful descriptions of what he has seen by a man who has actually lived at almost all seasons of the year among these people and has sought to understand their point of view. For the traveller who likes an open-air life and is not afraid of 'roughing' it there will be great fascination in his records of tramps through the deep-cut valleys and gorges of the Dordogne and the grandly savage country that surrounds it, contrasting with the perfect sylvan beauty of the approach to La Roche Canillac, through country where (as at St. Bazile) the chief food of the people is potatoes and chestnuts, their chief need knowledge and money to counteract the phylloxera and mildew which have destroyed the once flourishing vines, and so on through the viscounty of Turenne with its memories of Caesar's wars but also of the English occupation under the 'devils' race' of the Plantagenets, memories still cherished with the same bitterness as those of Cromwell in Ireland. On again through the strange valley of the Ouysse to Roc Amadour, pillaged by Henry III of England, where it is regarded as economy to feed the rats with maize lest they should eat the more expensive household linen, and the pigs.

which are used to hunt truffles, grunt when they have found them, without attempting to eat them but expecting to be rewarded with maize for their sagacity. Thence to Carennac through a land where people, even children, can still be found ignorant of French, a land rich with legends of St. Martin and equally of the devil, with excursions by the way into the weird underground caverns of the Gouffre de Révaillon, and then into one of the few districts still receiving the Government grant for the number of wolves killed, as he passes through Upper Périgord to visit the château which in 1651 was the birth-place of Fénelon. Domme with its memories of English sieges and Beynac with reminiscences of gudgeon cooked alive for supper are among his recollections of a district chiefly associated with pâté de foie gras. We would gladly follow him to Cadouin, with its beautiful cloisters and its ancient claim to the possession of the Holy Shroud, and through the fair valley of the Vézère, with its extraordinarily interesting prehistoric remains, and of the Isle with its carp of fifteen to twenty pounds in weight, to that of the Dronne which 'seems to be blessed with perpetual spring': from Brantôme's ruined abbey and the great château of Bourdeilles to the Riberac of Arnaud Daniel. 'il grande maestro d'amore' of whom Petrarch sang and whom Dante met in Purgatory. The interior of a Trappist monastery, the curious 'monolithic' churches of St. Jean at Aubeterre and of St. Émilion, the country and château of Montaigne, Castillon where Talbot fell on the fatal July 17, 1453, St. Macaire, paradise of artists, through the country of Montesquieu to Bordeaux and Arcachon—such are the scenes which the reader (and traveller) will visit in Mr. Barker's company, and he will probably find him equally interesting, though the journey may be less attractive, as he passes through the Landes discoursing on the delicate nervous system of wolves by Lake Cazau, the district to the south of which he describes as an ideal hunting ground, to visit a bull fight at Dax, a Punch and Judy show at Peyrehorade, and end his book at Biarritz.

A word must be said of the excellence of the illustrations. The photographs in Mrs. Wharton's book are of well-known scenes but very beautiful. Some of the drawings in Mr. Barker's book have lost a little in reproduction and are rather stiff, but others are very attractive, while both Mr. Pennell's drawings in Sir Edward Thorpe's book (borrowed from Highways and Byways of Normandy) and many of Miss Branson's add greatly to our enjoyment.

### VII.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

John Smith of Harrow, Schoolmaster. By E. D. RENDALL and G. H. RENDALL. (Smith, Elder and Co. 1913.) 3s. 6d. net.

Those who have been privileged to know the 'glorious' Hill, as John Smith might have called it, will value this little book which enshrines one of the sacred memories of Harrow. The two authors shew a different spirit: the concrete vitality of the first portrait is in strong contrast with the distinction and grace of the second, but the combined impression is the same. The task, which is no easy one, has been well done: no one on putting the book down could honestly use what was an obvious criticism in apprehension, that it was a case of 'botanizing on a mother's grave.' The figure which is presented to us is convincingly Christlike in its love, its purity, its prayerfulness, its application of religion to the whole of our existence. The cloud which overhung the life and which descended on it at the close, painful as the thought of it must be, brings home to the thoughtful reader with a strange pathos the limitations of human nature, and the little gap which separates the fearless and laborious follower of Christ from helplessness, by reason of the strange interaction of body and soul and the mystery of inherited tendencies which condition our earthly life.

Bishop Creighton once in preaching in Harrow Chapel pressed on his youthful hearers the question: why should not a boy love his work, and do it well, for Christ's sake? Perhaps he knew that he was insisting on a thought which had been often put by John Smith in the same place to his pupils. 'It was part of his teaching '(p. 4) 'that such things as keeping your nails clean were as much a part of a boy's duty in the sight of God as other and more generally recognized virtues. So he acted up to his doctrine by setting a good example in such matters himself.' Again (p. 12): 'He put all work on the highest grounds as duty owed to God: of that there must be no doubt in any boy's mind. . . . One day he said to a boy who had failed in his lesson: "Dear fellow, when you and I get to heaven, if you don't know your Greek grammar, the dear Lord will call me up and say 'Go teach this boy his grammar before you come into my presence.' We must try to do it better."' In this story, and still more markedly in others which we have no room to quote, the atmosphere of voice, manner, and bearing which is lost cannot be recreated by the reader who never had met John Smith: but that he was a good and thorough schoolmaster in practical matters is proved inter alia by an interesting paper of directions about his Form-work printed at p. 43. As Bishop Jeremy Taylor towards the end of his life is said to have procured all the copies of his Liberty of Prophesying which could be found, and to have made a bonfire of them in the market-place of Dromore, so John Smith on leaving Harrow destroyed his sermons. Only one is preserved, preached on Ephesians ii. 22, on Whitsunday, May 19, 1861. This has been wisely printed as an appendix to Part II of this book. One criticism in conclusion: on p. 99 we read that at John Smith's burial 'The church bell did not toll: for "funeral bells," he said, "should ring the departed into heaven." The point is not very clearly expressed: perhaps the word 'ring' should be in italics.

John Hungerford Pollen, 1820-1902. By Anne Pollen. With Portraits and Illustrations. (John Murray. 1912.) 15s. net.

THERE have always been from time to time men who have achieved such a measure of distinction in certain fields of human activity that a younger generation finds it difficult to realize, even if it knows, that they were once actors in very different scenes. It is probable that to most people at the present day John Hungerford Pollen is chiefly known as an architect, craftsman, writer and lecturer of great artistic genius and singularly attractive personality—the friend of Newman but also of scores of young art students at South Kensington and elsewhere whose aspirations and ideals he kindled and helped to form. though never willingly into slavish imitation of their teacher. It is this side of the biography before us which grips and fascinates the reader even if he has embarked upon it primarily in the hope of obtaining more light on certain less well known aspects of the Oxford Movement. The scheme of the book, by which twothirds are devoted to the first 33 years of a life which extended from 1820 to 1902, gave ground for such expectations; but it must be confessed that they contain very little that is not easily to be gathered from works already published and that the biographer does not seem to possess the familiarity with Oxford or the Church of England which is necessary to the understanding of many unusual features in her father's career either as a young Merton don or as an Anglican priest. The period of his work which is described in the fullest detail is that connected with the melancholy story of mutual misunderstandings between good men which centres round St. Saviour's, Leeds. Here there is some new information, and the record of the heroic devotion of the clergy during the outbreak of cholera is touching and well told. But as illustrating the development of Pollen's character many pages of the external history of Tractarianism might have been omitted without disadvantage, and the causes which led him to the Church of Rome are really summed up in the letter to W. B. Heathcote on pp. 226–7 and still more succinctly in the six lines that precede it:

'One last consultation he held with Robert Wilberforce, a fellow-watcher; and then he felt that he had followed human reason to the utmost point of shore. She pointed clear to the sea where she had no dominion; she urged him to embark, to trust to a pilot stronger than herself, and alone possessing the secrets of the way.'

Pollen went over as Allies had done: Pusey remained. But it is a singularly, if unintentionally, illuminating commentary on the words quoted with which the biographer has provided us in the extract from a letter to Allies after Dr. Pusey's death in 1882 in which her father says: 'Send me the results of your reflections on the end of a friend whose moral gravity I think we both esteemed more highly than his intellectual discernment.'

His own intellectual requirements being satisfied with the attainment of an external authority, his interests were henceforward devoted exclusively (so far as the biography seems to shew) to the devotional and artistic side of religion. He married, and was supremely happy in finding that he could turn to practical account the artistic studies which had been for many years his recreation. With the Professorship of Fine Art in the new Roman Catholic University at Dublin came Pollen's opportunity not only of formulating his ideas upon Art but of exhibiting their application in a peculiarly beautiful form in the basilica which he designed as the University Church. Incidentally the biography gives us at this point a glimpse of a Newman perhaps less overweighted than he appears in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's masterly study by the stupidity of the Irish bishops and the perils which attend the exercise of intellectual discernment in regard to the ultimate problems of religion under the Roman obedience. To this period also belong the competition design for the façade of the Foreign Office, that for the exterior of the Museum at Oxford, and Pollen's share in the ill-fated paintings in the Library of the Oxford Union Society. When he became Assistant-keeper of the South Kensington Museum in 1863 he had already achieved a reputation as a decorative designer of fine imagination and complete mastery of the materials in which he worked, while personally he impressed those who knew him—and to know him must have been to love—as being in the words of one of his friends 'so many sorts of somebody.' His share in the judging of various great international exhibitions was a source of much pleasure and interest to himself and considerable profit to all who examined his careful criticisms. And his designs for beautiful rooms and ceilings and household furniture as they are described and illustrated in this book will be studied by most readers with complete enjoyment.

' J.' A Memoir of John Willis Clark, Registrary of the University of Cambridge, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College. By A. E. Shipley, Master of Christ's College. (Smith, Elder and Co. 1913.) Price 10s. 6d. net.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK is happy in his biographer, though Dr. Shipley knew him only during the last period of his career, and though it is difficult for any biographer to do justice to all the multifarious activities of so versatile a man. The Master of Christ's, however, writes of what he knows, and writes in a lively and attractive style, without any of the meticulous precision which would have been natural to a Head of an earlier date; and he has given completeness to his picture by adding contributions from other friends who saw Clark from different points of view.

'J. W.' (Dr. Shipley calls him 'J.,' but his older friends naturally revert to the earlier nomenclature) was a Cambridge man if ever there was one; Cambridge from the cradle to the grave, from January I to December 3I; Cambridge, not in any want of sensitive appreciation for the claims and charms of Oxford, but in his love for every stone (perhaps one should rather say every *brick*) of his own University, and his sense of the importance of every event in her history. Yet the Cambridge which he first knew, and still more the society of which his parents could tell him, differed so widely from that which he left at his death, that all continuity might seem to be lost, and all possibility of attachment to both precluded. When he first began to observe, he saw a social arrangement under which the Heads and

their families constituted a caste by themselves, with the doubtful and precarious addition of a few privileged Professors. dons counted for little; the undergraduates were absolute cyphers. The town was 'to all intents and purposes the mediaeval town into which the University had intruded itself in the thirteenth century.' It is true that the architects were beginning to lay their heavy hands upon it; but for the most part the streets remained as they had been, and many of the College Buildings were concealed by groves of trees. Chapels and Halls were to a large extent unwarmed, baths unknown. the relations between town and gown unfriendly. Such are some of the features which surprise us in the picture drawn by Clark himself, when he was an old man, in the Cambridge Review. His only important absences from home were during the years which he spent at Eton; the rest were, for the most part, mere holiday tours. Even the time at Eton did not make up a full school career; nor did it seem to lay more than a slender foundation for the love of his school which characterized his later years, and which perhaps grew out of his study of architecture and ancient scholastic arrangements, and his friendship for many generations of Etonian undergraduates.

Clark of course read Classics at the University, though without any great love for them. No other avenue to distinction was then open to the aspiring student, except Mathematics, which were a closed book to Etonians. He gained a Scholarship, and a modest place in the 1st class of the Classical Tripos; and in 1858 he obtained a distinction which he himself considered

to be beyond his deserts-viz. a Trinity Fellowship.

As soon as he could, he transferred a great part of his intellectual energy to Zoology and Comparative Anatomy, leaving room however for travel and the study of French, for Society and the A.D.C. (the Cambridge Dramatic Club), for muniments and University tracts. He belonged indeed to that small band of happy people who seem to have time for every pursuit, without betraying superficiality in any. His official connexion with the scientific schools of the University began in 1866 with his appointment as Superintendent of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy, and ended with his election to the post of Registrary of the University in 1891. No one, we believe, would claim for him the distinction of being a great scientist; his education had not fitted him for this, even if the constitution of his mind allowed of it. His intelligent love for science, however, his enthusiasm as a collector, and his great power of organizing,

caused him to occupy an important place in the development

of the Cambridge School.

It was during the years of his work at the Museum that Clark undertook also what might have been enough to occupy the whole time and energy of an ordinary man-viz. the completion of the Architectural History of the University of Cambridge begun by his uncle, Professor Willis. us that he found by experience that his work of completion amounted to two-thirds of the whole; and the finished book not only included a lucid and accurate account of the buildings of all the Cambridge Colleges, and of the Societies for which they were designed, but also performed a similar task for Eton College. The dedication 'to the memory of Henry Bradshaw' shews that the authority of another great archaeologist besides Clark's own uncle stands at the back of many of the statements in these volumes. But heavy as was the labour involved in the composition and publication of what he laughingly called his 'magnum opus,' it did not exhaust the fertility of his pen. He wrote also biographical articles, some of them for this Review; 'vivid sketches drawn from life' and 'illustrated from I.'s almost inexhaustible fund of knowledge of the inner life of the University.' These sketches (of which the most remarkable is an account of the great Dr. Whewell) were afterwards published by themselves under the title Old Friends at Cambridge and elsewhere.

All this time there was an undercurrent of taste and inclination drawing 'J. W.' in the direction of the drama—especially of the French stage: while an appreciable part of his quasi-University work was concerned with the A.D.C. and the Greek Plays. This side of his activities, which has been excellently described in the chapter contributed by Mr. Walter Pollock, was not without its peculiarities and limitations. It was unconnected with any personal power of dramatic representation; it was so far uncritical that he liked an indifferent piece if he could not get a good one, and so far old-fashioned that he loved a melodrama and cared little for 'problem' plays. But his keen theatrical instinct, wide experience, and rare faculty for arranging, made his a potent influence, and he had much more than any one else to do with the success of the drama at Cambridge.

We have still to mention what was from the personal point of view the most important of all the events of his active years his marriage to Miss Frances Matilda Buchanan. On this matter there is absolutely no difference of opinion. Everybody who knows anything of J. W. Clark knows also how invaluable to him was the companionship and influence of this noble woman; how, by imperceptible degrees, she added to the seriousness, maturity, and sweetness of his character; how she went shares with him in the beneficent work of making friends of, and giving a taste of home life to, many generations of undergraduates as they followed each other in rapid succession.

To this and other aspects of his career the Master of Christ's has done full justice. He has enabled us to see, in the subject of his biography, a student capable of embracing and communicating fresh ideas on various subjects; an enthusiast for any work which he took in hand; a constant friend and a delightful travelling companion; a principal actor in the transformation of the life and society of the University; a man whom it was quite possible to criticize, but much easier to love. Placing his qualities in an ascending scale, and taking care not to exaggerate the merits of any of them, one might say that he had a capacity for science and archaeology, a talent for organization, and a genius for friendship.

Among my Books. Centenaries, Reviews, Memoirs. By Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan. 1912.) 7s. 6d. net.

A VERY large number of interesting books is discussed by Mr. Harrison in these pages, and discussed too in an interesting way. Much of the material has already appeared in other places and in other forms. One chapter, for example, on Byzantine History is a new edition of the Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge in 1900. A few papers, one on the centenary of Tennyson and another on Professor Firth's Cromwell, are reprinted from the Nineteenth Century or the Cornhill Magazine. Three pieces have appeared as special articles in the Times. One of them on the London Library Subject Index may be compared with the last chapter of the book on the Positivist Library, a new form of material which was privately printed in 1886. Seven chapters including papers on poetry, prose, biographies, tragic drama and general literature, and a review of the life of Ruskin, are reprints from the English Review. Mr. Harrison has increased our sense of obligation to him by the new material which he has also printed here. Three new essays deal with Chatham, 'who created the British Empire'; the first, an address to the American Circle in 1909, shews how Pitt gave the North American continent to our race and tongue, and the second and third are

Oct.

reviews, one laudatory on Lord Rosebery's Chatham, and the other the reverse on the attempt of a German Archivist, von Ruville, to give us the real Chatham in some 1250 pages octavo. Of the other chapters which appear for the first time two deal with Homer and the Homeric problem, one with the Attic Drama and the Comic Drama, and one with Professor Bury's work on The Eastern Roman Empire. Mr. Harrison speaks modestly of his 'occasional notes' on books, and does not profess to say anything new about well-known writers. But we will not take him quite at his own valuation, and what he says is well worth reading when he lets his pen run easily on about Shakespeare, or Bunyan, or Dante, or Johnson, or Cromwell, or Chatham. The student of Byzantine history especially will be glad to dip into Mr. Harrison's pages. And we are afraid that there are too many readers who will read a good deal of their own sad experience in his account of a volume of sonnets which he holds to be of exquisite quality, the expression of a bereaved husband's grief for the loss of a beloved wife, written day by day in the presence of her last illness, of her dead body, of her burial, and the first desolation of his old home. There is in fact much variety of interest in the book, and a literary man would be hard to please who did not find a great deal of satisfaction in some parts of it. It is not necessary to be a Positivist to enjoy a large number of its passages and to be in accord with many of its literary criticisms.

Livingstone and Newstead. By A. L. Fraser. With portraits and illustrations. (Murray. 1913.) 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. Livingstone and his daughter Agnes arrived at Newstead, eleven miles from Nottingham, in September 1864, and stayed there for seven months with his friend Mr. Webb, whose life he had saved in Africa by medical aid in a sharp attack of fever. Of Livingstone as explorer and missionary much is being said, and more will doubtless yet be said, in this the centenary year of his birth. What we have here is a pleasantly told story of the daily home life of the man as he appeared to the eyes of an observant child, who has regarded her experience as a treasure during many years, and now describes her recollection under the mellowing influence of time. If not much new material is added to the facts already known of Livingstone's life, it is none the less a glimpse of a good man, and we are very glad to see it in print. But we must hasten to add that this is not the only

interest of the book. There are many very readable passages about various friends, neighbours, and acquaintances. There is a chapter on Stanley, and a reference to his extraordinary eyes like small pools of grey fire. There is very much to tell us how greatly customs change, even in conservative English life, in less than fifty years. In particular we get a clear impression of the conditions of life in an English country house half a century ago, in the observance of Sunday, the hardening processes of the treatment of children, the drinking of home-brewed beer and the much rarer use of coffee, tea, and cocoa, the specialities in the way of recipes, the roasting, not the baking, of meats before a fire which burnt half a ton of coal a day and was able to roast thirty-six joints at the same time. As in reading Dickens, we may marvel at the large part that eating, drinking, and entertaining played in the daily life of those times. But in many other matters also the contrast is striking. When Livingstone discovered the Victoria Falls he toiled wearily along day after day through unexplored regions without even a path to guide him. His daughter Agnes, after fifty years, went to see the Falls by an easy transit in a train which was practically an hotel on wheels. This is a graphic illustration of the change which has passed over many areas of life in half a century. We may hope at all events that our missionary meetings have so much improved that we should not now attempt to catch the popular ear by such a person as Jacob Wainwright, a very undesirable member of a company of native porters and carriers sent to Livingstone by Stanley, and used on missionary platforms in England. We observe with regret that Livingstone's personal piety is mixed up with the principle of the question whether an unconfirmed person should be habitually admitted to the Holy Communion in the Church of England. And we see that Columban and Columba appear to be regarded in one footnote as one person. Such small blemishes, however, occur rarely, and when due allowance has been made for them, a large measure of pleasure and instruction remains. The illustrations and portraits add to the interest of the letterpress, especially a very charming portrait of Mrs. Webb, whose hat, we may take leave to say, is much prettier than many which we have to look upon now-a-days.

#### PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XIV. No. 56. July 1913. H. Milford). A. Souter: 'The Commonitorium of Fulgentius of Ruspe H. Milford). A. Souter: 'The Commonitorium of Fulgentius of Ruspe on the Holy Spirit.' (From MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 653, Saec IX ineunt.) H. J. Bardsley: (1) 'The Testimony of Ignatius and Polycarp to the Apostleship of "St. John"; (2) 'Note on Ignatius Eph. 17 and St. John xix 39.' C. Boutflower: 'Isaiah xxi in the Light of Assyrian History,' I. D. C. Simpson: 'The Chief Recensions of the Book of Tobit.' Dom R. H. Connolly: 'Greek the original Language of the Odes of Solomon.' F. C. Burkitt: (1) '"Epiphöskein"; (2) 'The "African Text" in St. Francis and the Prayer-Book.' A. D. Knox: "Spilades."' B. H. Streeter: 'Was the Baptist's Preaching Apocalyptic?' C. H. Turner: 'Tertullianea' (Notes on adv. Prazean §§ 1-17). G. Baskerville: 'Meditatio de statu Praelati' (By Simon of Ghent, Bp. of Salisbury, ville: 'Meditatio de statu Praelati' (By Simon of Ghent, Bp. of Salisbury, 1297-1315). E. A. Loew: 'The Date of Codex Rehdigeranus' (Of the Gospels, Breslau MS. R 169, Saec. VIII). J. K. Fotheringham: 'Dates in the Elephantine Papyri.' N. Herz: 'The Astral Terms in Job ix 9, xxxviii 31-32.' A. Souter: [on the 'Musical Notation' in Egerton MS. 874]. 'A Correction.' Very Rev. W. R. Inge (Dean of St. Paul's): 'Von Hügel Eternal Life. A Study'; 'E. Underhill The Mystic Way'; 'M. S. Fletcher The Psychology of the N.T.' ('very meritorious'). E. E. C. Jones: 'Tennant The Concept of Sin' (5 pp.) J. K. Mozley: 'W. P. Paterson The Rule of Faith'; 'Henson The Code in the Pulpit'; 'H. D. A. Major The Gospel of Freedom'. P. N. F. Young: 'Bishop of Blooms Paterson The Rule of Faith'; 'Henson The Creed in the Pulpit'; 'H. D. A. Major The Gospel of Freedom'. P. N. F. Young 'Bishop of Bloem fontein Faith and Experience.' W. A. L. Elmslie: 'R. T. Herford Pharisaism.' E. I. Robson: 'J. Chapman John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel' (critical). D. S. Margoliouth: 'Gauthier Ibn Thofail. Sa Vie, ses Œuvres.' J. F. Bethune-Baker: 'Harnack Bible-Reading in the Early Church [E.T.]' F. J. F. Jackson: 'Sir H. H. Howorth St. Augustine of Canterbury.' M. R. James: 'Guerrier et Grébaut Le Testament en Galilée de N.-S. Jésus-Christ'; 'Vouaux Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres apparathes'. Dom R. H. Coppelly: 'Nan La Didascalie des deurs ment en Guittee de N.-S. Jessus-Christ; Vouaux Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres apocryphes.' Dom R. H. Connolly: 'Nau Les Didascalie des douze Apôtres' (2nd edit.). C. H. W. Johns: 'F. C. Jean Les Lettres de Hammurapi à Sin-idinnam'; 'R. W. Rogers Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.' G. C. Richards: 'J. H. Moulton Einleitung in die Sprache des N.T.' A. C. Turner: 'W. M. Furneaux Acts of the Apostles'; 'J. M. Wilson Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles.' B. T. D. Smith: 'E. J. W. Williams Plea for a Reconsideration of St. Paul's Doctrine of Justification.' H. K. Archdall: 'Blake The Book of Job and the Problem of Suffering'; 'Pain and Gladness.' E. Levine: 'O. Holzmann Die Mischna Berakot and Der Toseptatraktat Berakot'; 'G. Beer Die Mischna Pesachim.' S. A. Cooke: 'The Old Testament and Related Literature, Chronicle.' A. H. McNeile: 'Podéchard L'Ecclésiaste.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. XI. No. 4. July 1913. Williams and Norgate). Rabindranath Tagore: 'The Problem of Evil.' A. C. M'Giffert: 'Christianity in the Light of its History.' P. Smith: 'A New Light on the Relations of Peter and Paul.' T. C. Snow: 'Imagination in Utopia.' A. Smythe Palmer: 'The Fall of Lucifer.' J. Drummond: 'Occasion and Object of the Epistle to the Romans.' F. P. Badham and F. C. Conybeare: 'Fragments of an Ancient (? Egyptian) Gospel used by the Cathars of Albi.' R. B. Townshend: 'Antiochus Epiphanes, the Brilliant Madman.' T. C. Hall: 'The Significance of Coercion.' H. D. Rawnsley: 'The Child and the Cinematograph Show' (with a Note by the Headmaster of Eton). J. N. Larned: 'Evil. A Discussion for the Times.' A. Dale: 'Social Service. No. 8. A Plea for Unemployables.' Discussions. G. Dawes Hicks: 'Survey of Recent Philosophical Literature,' J. Moffatt: 'Survey of Recent Theological

Literature.' Sir H. Jones: 'Bosanquet Value and Destiny of the Individual' (74 pp.) H. H. Scullard: 'Tennant The Concept of Sin.' W. E. Tanner: 'F. C. S. Schiller Formal Logic' (42 pp.) T. K. Cheyne: 'W. B. Smith Ecce Deus and Dev ovorhristliche Jesus' (62 pp.) J. G. Vance: 'Whetham Science and the Human Mind' (52 pp.) E. Kislingbury: Joergensen S. François d'Assise'; 'Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F. C. Life of St. Francis.' G. G. Coulton: 'Ogle Canon Law in Mediaeval England' (critical). F. Granger: 'Buckham Personality and the Christian Ideal.' The Dublin Reuwe (Vol. CLIII. No. 306. July 1913. Burns and Oates). J. S. Phillimore: 'Blessed Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism in England'. J. G. Vance: 'Science and Philosophy at Louvain.' W. Ward: (1)' Some Oxford Essays' (Reviews Foundations); (2) 'George Wyndham.' A. P. Greaves: 'Irish Gaelic Nature Poetry in English Verse Translation.' H. Graham: 'The Napoleon of San Domingo' (Toussaint L'Ouverture). S. Harding: 'The Chinese Republic and Yuan Shih-K'ai.' F. McCullagh: 'The Belgian Strike.' C. C. Martindale, S.J.: 'Et in Vitam Aeternam' (Reviews Dr. J. G. Frazer and Baron von Hügel). 'E. Underhill The Mystic Way.' 'Sermon Notes of Cardinal Naumann'. Sirl B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Abercromby Bronze-Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its Associated Gravegoods' (laudatory); 'Spearing Childhood of Art'; 'M. Hartog Problems of Life and Reproduction', 'Frank Theory of Evolution in the Light of Facts.' J. Bailey Dr. Johnson and his Circle.' 'G. K. Chesterton The Victorian Age in Literature.' 'E. Wordsworth Gimpses of the Past.' 'Dunoyer Fouquier Tinville.' 'De Smet Betvothment and Marriage.' 'J. L. Ratton The Apocalypse of St. John.'

The Irish Church Quarierly (Vol. VI. No. 23. July 1313. Dublin: M. H. Gill). H. Boyd: 'The Church of Ireland and Home Rule. A Reply.' H. J. Lawlor: 'Henry Dodwell.' W. K. Fleming: 'Mysticism in Christianity.' 'G. B. Gray Critical Introduction to the Crisis at Corinth,' II. W. H. Boyd: 'The Church of Ireland and Home Rule. A Reply.' H. J. Law

Traffic.' J. G. Tasker: 'Christian Missions and Anglo-German Friendship.' J. S. Banks: 'The Ethical Teaching of Jesus.' A. Roebuck: 'The Garden of Eden. Its Locality and Restoration.' W. B. Brash: 'Were the Pharisees "Pharisaical"?' Gibson The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, IV.' 'Milligan The N.T. Documents.' 'Underhill The Mystic Way.' 'F. B. Westcott St. Paul and Justification' (favourable). 'Halliday Greek Divination' ('admirable'). 'Workman The Trajution of the Monartic Idag.' 'Supp. Hadin Trans. Hemploya III.'

able). 'Halliday Greek Divination' ('admirable'). 'Workman The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal.' 'Sven Hedin Trans-Himalaya, III.'

The Interpreter (Vol. IX. No. 4. July 1913. R. Scott). W. Lock: Godis Love (I St. Io. iv I, 16).' (University Sermon.) O.C. Whitehouse: 'The Historic Background of the Book of Baruch.' A. H. McNeile: 'Law, Sin, and Sacrifice in the O.T.' F. C. Bouquet: 'The Parables of Our Lord. Sources and Parallels.' W. L. Mackennal: 'The History of an Irish Jesuit' (Fr. Tyrrell). J. E. Symes: 'The Epistle of James.' N. E. E. Swan: 'Supernatural Religion and Social Conditions.' H. Northects: 'Love the Interpreter of Belief', C. H. W. Johns: 'Röhl. N. E. E. Swan: Supernatural Religion and Social Conditions." H. Northcote: 'Love the Interpreter of Belief.' C. H. W. Johns: 'Böhl Kanaanaer und Hebräer'; 'Sarsowsky Keilschriftliches Urkundenbuch zum A.T. in Urschrift'; 'Clay Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period.' 'F. B. Jevona Personality.' 'Tennant The Concept of Sin.' 'Troeltsch Protestantism and Progress.' H. Johnson: 'Chamberlain Foundations of the XIXth Content.'

Chamberlain Foundations of the XIXth Century.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XVII. No. 3. July 1913.

Chicago University Press). E. W. Lyman: 'What is Theology? The Essential Nature of the Theologian's Task.' P. Wendland: 'Hellenistic Ideas of Salvation in the Light of Ancient Anthropology.' J. Weiss: 'The Significance of Paul for Modern Christians.' J. Moffatt: 'Ninety Years after. A Survey of Bretschneider's Probabilia in the Light of subsequent Johannine Criticism.' G. R. Dodson: 'Aristotle as a Corrective in Present Theological Thought.' J. W. Bashford: 'Adaptation of Modern Christianity to the People of the Orient.' E. J. Goodspeed: (i) 'The Freer Gospels' (collations); (2) 'Professor Harnack and the Paris MS. of Justin' (A detailed criticism of the accuracy of his collation). G. A. Barton: 'Hehn Die biblische u. die babylonische Gottesidee.' L. B. Paton: 'Gemoll Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels.' H. Creelman: 'Mitchell-Smith-Bewer Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah.' G. Milligan: 'Frame Thessalonians' (laudatory). S. J. Case: 'Spitta Die synoptische Grundschrift in ihrer Ueberlieferung durch das Lukasevangelium' (Finds the earliest document in St. Luke, not St. Mark). M. Sprengling: 'Abbott Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet'; 'Guignet S. Grégoire de Nazianze.' J. A. Faulkner: 'Recent Literature on Luther.' A. Hörmann: 'G. Reichel Zinzendorfs Frömmigkeit im Lichte der Psychoanalyse.' G. Cross: 'W. B. Selbie Schleiermacher.' 'C. A. Briggs The Fundamental Christian Faith.' H. B. Robins: 'Faunce What does Christianity mean?' E. Talbert: 'Fresenius Mystik u. geschichtliche Religion.' G. B. Foster: 'L. J. Henderson The Fitness of the Environment.' T. G. Soares: 'G. Jackson The Preacher and the Modern Mind' (Fernley Lecture. Favourable). W. E. Clark: 'Persian, Indian, and Islamic Studies.' 'Dahse Texthritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage, I' (conservative). 'K. Lake The Apostolic Fathers, I.' 'Netzer L'Introduction de la Messe Romaine en France sous les Carolingiens.' 'Stiefenhofer Die Geschichte der Kirchenweihe.'

The Review and Expositor (Vol. X. No. 3. July 1913. Louisville, Ky. London: 4 Southampton Row, W.C.). E. B. Pollard: 'Luther Rice and his Place in American Baptist History,' I. G. Luzzi: 'Modernism.' W. E. Henry: 'Christ's Resurrection and the Father.' A. Yager: 'Should a Preacher participate in the Political Life of his Country? If so, why and how?' E. R. Pendleton: 'The Kind of Ministry needed To-day.' S. Angus: 'Hebrew, Greek and Roman,' II. A. J. Dickinson:

'The Genesis of the Epistle to the Romans.' W. O. Carver: 'Expository Notes. Phil. iii 10 cf. John xvii 11-12, Matt. i 21; Heb. xiii 20; Jo. i 1-16; Matt. x 40-42. W. J. McGlothlin: 'G. Luzzi The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy'; 'C. C. Wells Manual of Early Ecclesiastical History to 476 A.D.'; 'L. F. Brown Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum'; 'Nutter The Cambridge Baptists and the Struggle for Religious Liberty.' W. O. Carver: Kent Life and Teachings of Jesus according to the Earliest Records'; 'Foundations' ('The distinctly conservative movement at Oxford is very gratifying. Possibly constructive would be the better descriptive term.'); 'Simpson The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature' (favourable); C. S. Gardner: 'E. Y. Mullins Freedom and Authority in Religion.'

The Constructive Quarterly (Vol. I. Nos. 1-2. March-June 1913.
Frowde). W. P. Du Bose: 'A Constructive Treatment of Christians', Archibited Platon, 'As March-June 1913.

Frowde). W. P. Du Bose: 'A Constructive Treatment of Christianity.' W. Ward: 'Union among Christians.' Archbishop Platon: 'A Message from the Russian Church.' F. Loofs: 'A German View of the Sola Fide.' G. Goyau: 'The Church of France To-day.' J. J. Wynne, S.J.: 'Reforms of Pius X.' W. P. Paterson: 'Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland.' S. Mathews: 'The Awakening of American Protestantism.' Bishop F. J. McConnell: 'The Significance of Conversion in the Thinking of To-day.' W. Sanday: 'The Pacific and the Warlike Ideals.' B. W. Become.' St. Papil's Marcage to Beligion.' A. Handersten M. Beligion. Bacon: 'St. Paul's Message to Religion.' A. Henderson, M.P.: 'Religion and Labour.' R. E. Speer: 'An American Saint' (H. C. Trumbull).

June. J. Denney: 'The Constructive Task of Protestantism.' N.

Smyth: 'The Common Idea of the Church in the Protestant Creeds.' Smyth: 'The Common Idea of the Church in the Protestant Creeds.' Mgr. [P.] Batiffol: 'The French School of Early Church History.' S. Low: 'Christianity in the United States.' R. A. Falconer: 'The Present Position of the Churches in Canada.' N. N. Glubokovsky: 'Orthodoxy in its Essence.' Very Rev. W. R. Inge (Dean of St. Paul's): 'The Transformation of the Messianic Hope in the N.T.' W. A. Brown: 'Problems and Possibilities of American Protestantism.' Lady Henry Somerset: 'The Place of Religion in the Woman Movement.' W. L. Bevan: 'Baron von Hügel's Eternal Life.' W. B. Selbie: 'Some Tendencies in the English Free Churches.' I. H. Moulton: 'Methodism.

Somerset: 'The Place of Religion in the Woman Movement.' W. L. Bevan: 'Baron von Hügel's Eternal Life.' W. B. Selbie: 'Some Tendencies in the English Free Churches.' J. H. Moulton: 'Methodism in the Catholic Unity.' W. H. van Allen: 'Catholic Privileges.' R. M. Jones: 'A Forgotten Hero of the Reformation' (Sebastian Castellio).

The Jewish Quarterly Review (N.S. Vol. IV. No. 1. July 1913. Philadelphia: Dropsie College. London: Macmillan). N. Bentwich: 'From Philo to Plotinus.' V. Aptowitzer: 'Formularies of Decrees and Documents from a Gaonic Court' (Hebrew texts and notes). I. Davidson: 'Poetic Fragments from the Genizah' (Hebrew texts). W. St. C. Tisdall: 'The Aryan Words in the O.T.,' IV. L. Grünhut: 'Our Edition of the Palestinian Talmud compared with the Leyden MS.' S. Krauss: 'A Misunderstood Word.' I. Friedlaender: 'Macdonald Aspects of Islam.' W. Backer: 'Some Remarks on Saadya's Tokehah.'

Church and Synagogue (N.S. Vol. III. No. 2. June 1913. Skeffington). A. Lukyn-Williams: 'The Religion of the Jews in the Time of our Lord.' G. H. Box: 'The Rabbinic and Apocalyptic Types of Thought,' I. G. Friedlander: 'Pirqê de Rabbi Eliezer: Translation and Notes' (continued). M. G. Dampier: 'The Place of Jewish Christianity in the Catholic Church To-day.' G. H. Box: 'Hamilton The People of God'; 'Levine Judaism.'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 31-3. July-September 1913. Hodder and Stoughton). J. Moffatt: 'The Lord's Supper in the Fourth Gospel.' J. Skinner: 'The Divine Names in Genesis. IV. The Hebrew Text' (Aug. IV. 2. 'The Samaritan Pentateuch.' Sept. V. 'The Limits of Textual Uncertainty'). G. B. Gray: 'The Forms of Hebrew Poetry. II. Parallelism. A Re-statement' (Aug. III. 'Parallelism and

Rhythm in the Book of Lamentations.' Sept. IV. 'The Elements of Hebrew Rhythm'). T. H. Weir: 'The Irony of Jesus.' E. H. Eckel and S. A. Devan: 'The Question of the Apostolic Decree. A Reply.' W. Johnstone: 'The Value of the Method of Pragmatism in Theology.' W. Johnstone: 'The Naim and Scope of Philosophy of Religion. I. The Services of Philosophy to Theology.' (Sept. II. 'Philosophy of Religion as an Autonomous Subject.') D. S. Margoliouth: 'The Zadokites.' W. Montgomery: 'Albert Schweitzer.' A. E. Garvie: 'Psychology and Exegesis.' H. Erskine Hill: 'History and Mysticism.' September. M. Jones: 'The Date of the Epistle to the Galatians.' W. B. Stevenson: 'The Interpretation of Isaiah xli. 8-20 and li. I-8.' C. McEvoy: 'The New Testament Language of Endearment to the

Lord Jesus Christ.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXIV. Nos. 10-12. July-September 1913. T. and T. Clark). W. Sanday: 'The Value of the Subconscious. In Reply to Critics.' J. Rendel Harris: 'Eberhard Nestle.' J. Reid: 'The Sanctification of Christ and His Disciples.' T. G. Pinches: 'Sargon of Assyria in the Lake Region of Van and Urmia, 714 B.C.,' II. Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'What were the Churches of Galatia?' VIII (IX. Sept.) W. Watson: 'Illustrations from Egyptian Ethics of Texts in 'Proverbs.'' C. W. Emmet: 'Acts xv. 3 and the Early Date of Galatians.' T. H. Weir: '"Ye are clean, but not all'' (John xiii. 10).' J. E. Compton: 'The Punctuation of Job v. 6-8.' J. M. Forson: 'Spirits in Prison.' W. H. Griffith-Thomas: '"Faith" in the Synoptic Gospels.' A. M. Walmsley: '"Worship' and "Obeisance'" in the Bible.' J. Hastings: 'Sir H. Jones Social Powers.' 'Weitbrecht Bibliography for Missionary Students.' August. A. R. S. Kennedy: 'Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine,' I (Sept. II. Illustrated). H. Townsend: 'Job and Buddha.' W. Arnott: 'The Unjust Steward in a New Light.' A. D. Martin: 'The Word of the Cross and the Parable of the Prodigal.' Compton-Rickett William Morris.' 'Sven Hedin Trans-Himalaya, III.' 'Herbert First Principles of Evolution.' 'E. Y. Mullins Freedom and Authority in Religion.' 'Knowlson The Education of the Will.' 'Brewster The Philosophy of Faith.' 'Maurice Life of Octavia Hill.' September. E. W. Winstanley: 'Days of the Son of Man.' E. König: 'Canaan and the Babylonian Civilization.' G. Margoliouth: 'The Calendar, the Sabbath, and the Marriage-Law in the Geniza-Zadokite Documents. II. The Sabbath.' M. Jones: 'Acts xv. 3 and the Early Date of Galatians.' A. E. Garvie: 'The Value of the Subconscious.' J. Hastings: 'Royce The Problem of Christianity.'

Royce The Problem of Christianity.'

The English Church Review (Vol. IV. Nos. 43-5. July-September 1913. Longmans). Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil: 'A Plea for a Central Theological College in China.' F. Underhill: 'The End of the Oxford Movement.' H. J. Clayton: 'The Pallium,' I (II. Aug.). C. E. Rolt: 'Von Ruville Humility the True Talisman. A Study of Catholicism [E.T.].' 'The Promise of the Keys to St. Peter.' C. E. Rolt: 'National Christianity.' W. J. Sparrow-Simpson: 'Vermeil J. A. Möhler et l'École Catholique de Tubingue (1815-40).' 'E. Wordsworth Glimpses of the Past.' August. Very Rev. T. I. Ball: 'Mr. Mackonochie and Roman Ceremonial.' "Laicus": 'The Extremists. A Criticism.' S. L. Ollard: 'The End of the Oxford Movement.' 'An Anonymous Revision of the Prayer-Book.' W. J. Sparrow-Simpson: 'The Autobiography of M. Alfred Loisy.' C. E. Rolt: 'Fleming Mysticism in Christianity.' 'Von Hügel Eternal Life.' 'Greig The Church and Nonconformity.' 'F. J. Hall The Trinity, IV.' September. '"New Thought." A Conversation.' F. Underhill: 'The Extremists. A Reply.' W. J. Sparrow-Simpson: 'Lacordaire.' 'Von Schubert on the Rise of the Catholic Church.' 'Rostron The Christology of St. Paul.' 'Hollis

What the Church did for England' (2 pp. critical). 'H. C. White Disestablished and Disendowed.' 'Ayscough Levia Pondera.' 'Hooton The Missionary Campaign.' 'Chadwick Christian Citizenship.'

The Churchman (Vol. XXVII. Nos. 91-3. July-September 1913. R. Scott). A. R. Whately: 'The New Evangelicalism.' W. E. Chadwick: 'The Church and the Poor. A Series of Historical Sketches. VII. The Reformation—Luther and Calvin.' (Aug. VIII. 'The Reigns of the Tudor Sovereigns. Henry VIII to Elizabeth.' Sept. IX. 'The Seventeenth Century.' H. A. Wilson: 'Authority in Religion. I. Authority of Church and Bible.' (Aug. II. 'Authority of Personal Experience.') J. T. Levens: 'The Racial Outlook of the Four Gospels.' B. C. Jackson: 'Atonement and Character.' M. P. Wood: 'A Canterbury "Peculiar"' (Mayfield). M. L. Smith: 'Strong and Garstang The Syrian Goddess.' C. S. Carter The English Church and the Reformation.' D. G. Whitley: 'Wright Origin and Antiquity of Man'; 'Sollas Ancient Hunters.' 'Tait The Heavenly Session of our Lord.' August. M. Booth: 'Rudolf Eucken and the Education Question.' M. Johnson: 'Leviticus and the Critics,' I (II. Sept.) J. Hudson: 'Sunday.' P. N.

Hunters.' 'Tait The Heavenly Session of our Lord.' August. M. Booth: 'Rudolf Eucken and the Education Question.' M. Johnson: 'Leviticus and the Critics,' I (II. Sept.) J. Hudson: 'Sunday.' P. N. Kennedy: 'Rationalism.' F. St. J. Thackeray: 'On some Contents of a Parish Chest.' W. E. Beck: 'Strahan The Book of Job.' September. R. Jones: 'Private Morals in Relation to Public Welfare.' M. Just: 'Hints from the Pew.' J. Gregory Smith: '"The Religion of a Gentleman."' C. H. K. Boughton: 'Swete The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church'; 'F. B. Westcott St. Paul and Justification.'

The Catholic World (Vol. XCVII. Nos. 580-82. July-September 13. New York: 120-122 West 6oth Street). G. M. Searle: 'Why the Catholic Church cannot accept Socialism.' F. Drouet: 'Glimpses of a great Catholic Soul. Louis Veuillot.' W. E. Campbell: 'Sir Thomas More and his Time,' IX. E. Christitch: 'Light and Shade in Albania.' 'Grisar Luther, I [E.T.]' (4 pp.) 'Pastor History of the Popes, XI-XII [E.T.]' 'Santayana Winds of Doctrine.' 'J. C. E. Falls Three Years in the Libyan Desert.' 'Russell From Hussar to Priest. Memoir of C. R. Chase.' 'F. C. Howe European Cities at Work.' 'A. R. Wallace Social Environment and Moral Progress.' August. J. L. O'Brien: 'The New Movement in French Literature. A Catholic Renaissance.' L. I. Guiney: 'The Lavington of Manning.' T. J. Gerrard: 'Bergson and the Divine Fecundity.' E. March Phillipps: 'The Spiritual Note in the Renaissance.' R. L. Wright: 'With the Mullakons of Siberia.' K. Tynan: 'Mrs. Meynell and her Poetry.' 'De Koven Life and Letters of John Paul Jones.' 'Leger John Wesley's Last Love' (Grace Murray). 'W. E. Hocking The Meaning of God in Human Experience.' 'Vermeersch Tolerance.' September. A. Morgan: 'Shakespeare. Recent Discoveries and a Review.' T. J. Gerrard: 'A Challenge to the Time-Spirit.' W. P. H. Kitchin: 'The Centenary of Frédéric Ozanam' (1813-53). W. Vowles: 'Two Flowers of Carmel' (Sister Thérèse of Lisieux and Elizabeth of the Trinity). 'Grisar History of Rome and of Lisieux and Eliz the Popes, III [E.T.].' 'Devas The Dominican Revival in the XIXth Century.' 'Frank Evolution in the Light of Facts.'

The Quarterly Review (No. 436. July 1913. John Murray). C. T. Atkinson: 'The Peninsular War.' C. L. Graves: 'The Lighter Side of Irish Life.' E. S. Haldane: 'The Life of Descartes.' W. C. D. Whetham: 'The Individual Atom' (with Diagrams). E. Colquhoun: 'Modern Feminism and Sex-Antagonism.' S. G. Dunn: 'A Modern Bengali Mystic. Rabindranath Tagore.' Lord Cromer and B. Holland: 'Sir Alfred Lyall.' J. Bailey: 'The Poetry of Robert Bridges.' 'London University Reform (1) General (2) Medical.' 'George Wyndham.'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXVIII. No. 111. July 1913. Longmans). H. W. C. Davis: 'The Anglo-Saxon Laws.' E. W. Brooks;

'The Arab Occupation of Crete.' R. L. Poole: 'The Publication of Great Charters by the English Kings.' T. Keith: 'The Trading Privileges of the Royal Burghs of Scotland,' I. P. van Dyke: 'The Estates of Pontoise.' S. C. Hill: 'The Old Sepoy Officer,' II. C. H. Haskins: 'Adelard of Bath and Henry Plantagenet.' J. F. Willard: 'The Taxes upon Movables of the Reign of Edward I.' J. H. Round: 'The Debtors of William Cade.' F. J. Routledge: 'Six Letters of Cardinal Pole to the Countess of Huntingdon.' (From MS. Bodl. Carte 78). E. J. Davis: 'An Unpublished MS. of the Lords' Journals for April and May 1550.' 'An Unpublished MS. of the Lords' Journals for April and May 1559.' (MS. Int. Temp. Petyt 537 vol. 6). A. Stern: 'A Letter of Sir Robert Peel relative to King Frederick William IV's Proposal to summon the Peel relative to King Frederick William IV's Proposal to Summon the Combined Diets, 1847.' R. S. Rait: 'Maxwell Early Chronicles relating to Scotland.' G. McN. Rushforth: 'Jackson Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture.' T. Nicklin: 'Howorth Gregory the Great and St. Augustine of Canterbury' (critical). F. E. Warren: 'Fawtier La Vie de S. Samson.' W. D. Green: 'Allard Les Origines du Servage en France.' H. A. Wilson: 'Dowden The Medieval Church in Scotland and The Bishops of Scotland.' Dowden The Medieval Church in Scotland and The Bishops of Scotland.'
C. L. Kingsford: 'Sellers York Memorandum Book. I. 1376–1419.'
J. N. Clapham: 'Tawney The Agrarian Problem in the XVIth Century.'
W. H. Frere: 'Foster Lincoln Episcopal Records, 1571–84'; 'Burrage
John Penry.' H. E. Egerton: 'Beer The Old Colonial System. I. 1660–88.'
J. H. Rose: 'The Windham Papers, 1758–1810.' M. A. Pickford:
'Carré La Fin des Parlements, 1788–90.' T. Keith: 'Meikle Scotland
and the French Revolution.' H. J. L[awlor]: 'Keller Eusèbe Historien des
Persécutions.' 'Marsh English Rule in Gascony, 1199–1259.' 'Wilson
Rose Castle.' Rose Castle.

The Economic Review (Vol. XXIII. No. 3. July 1913. Rivingtons). D. A. Barker: 'Famine Relief in India.' E. Latham: '"Am I my Brother's Keeper?" A Question for Social Reformers.' B. S. Townroe: Brother's Keeper?" A Question for Social Reformers.' B. S. Townroe: 'New Ideals in Modern Business.' A. G. Burke and G. L. Spencer: 'Children's Courts in Victoria.' M. I. Gray: 'The Present Crisis in Social Reform.' G. Cadbury jun.: 'The Town Planning Conference.' Notes and Memoranda. J. L. Dougan and L. Boag: 'Legislation, Parliamentary Inquiries, and Official Returns.' E. Cannan: 'Pierson Principles of Economics, II. [E.T.]' L. Phillips: 'Tawney The Agrarian Problem in the XVIth Century' (favourable). J. C. Pringle: 'Ware The Worker and his Country'; 'Breckinridge and Abbot The Delinquent Child and the Home.' C. E. Rolt: 'Lofthouse Ethics and the Family': 'Rogers Introduction to Pastaral Theology.' H. W. Wolff. the Family'; 'Rogers Introduction to Pastoral Theology.' H. W. Wolff:

'Jacob Volkswirtschaftliche Theorie der Genossenschaften.'

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 571-3. July-September 1913. London: 10 Adelphi Terrace, W.C.) Sir W. J. Collins: 'The University of London.' Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell: 'The Victorian Orator' (John Bright). W. P. Paterson: 'The Union Problem of the Scottish Church.' J. Denney: 'Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland.' J. H. Whitehouse: 'Canon Barnett. An Appreciation.' T. H. S. Escott: 'Miner Poets and the Leurestein'.' Right Rev. G. H. Fredeborn: 'Minor Poets and the Laureateship.' Right Rev. G. H. Frodsham: 'The Religious Education Difficulty.' A Plea for a Democratic Solution.' J. N. Harley: 'Labour Legislation and the Australian Elections.' J. M. J. N. Hariey: Labour Legislation and the Australian Elections. J. M. Howe: 'Count Arthur of Gobineau, Race-mystic' (1816-82). E. Garnett: 'Mrs. Gertrude Bone's Tales.' 'Poets Laureate' (with list). 'Tod International Arbitration among the Greeks.' 'H. Jenkins Life of George Borrow.' C. E. A. B[edwell]: 'Monroe Cyclopaedia of Education, IV.' 'Mallory Boswell the Biographer.' 'Colligan The Arian Movement in England.' 'Robinson The Spirit of Association.' August. G. M. Trevelyan: 'A Holiday among the Servians.' Sir S. Lee: 'Shakespeare and Public Affairs,' I. (II. Sept.) J. F. Macdonald: 'Henri Rochefort.' Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Mysteries in their Relation to St. Paul.' E. W.

Davies: 'The Jury System.' J. Burtt: 'Slavery in Anno Domini 1913.' C. Cochrane: 'Rural Housing and State Grants.' E. Edlmann: 'Juvenile Labour Exchanges and Apprenticeship Bureaux in Germany.' G. H. Powell: 'The Tragedy of Henri Quatre.' 'Our Public Libraries.' 'Harvest-Time in the Bible.' 'Poetical Works of Robert Bridges.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Robinson Spirit of Association.' 'Frazer Belief in Immortality.' 'Rendall John Smith of Harrow.' September. W. H. Dickinson: 'The Mental Deficiency Act, 1913.' W. C. Grane: 'Public Opinion and War.' J. A. Lindsay: 'The Unreality of much current Religious Teaching.' Sir F. Vane: 'The Catholicity of the Young.' J. Carey: 'The House and the Act of Living in it.' (Interesting.) H. C. Davidson: 'The Nature of Plants.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Maurice Octavia Hill.' 'Watson Vives on Education.' J. E. G. de M[ontmorency]: 'Fleming Mysticism in Christianity.' 'Harnack Bible Reading in the Early Church.' 'Austen-Leigh Jane Austen.'

Leigh Jane Austen.'

The Hindustan Review (Vol. XXVII. Nos. 166-7. June-July 1913. Allahabad: 7 Elgin Road). S. Nihal Singh: 'Civilizing the South Canara Pariah.' C. N. Zutshi: 'The Present System of Education in India.' W. S. Naidu: 'Social Helpfulness.' R. S. Kibe: 'Plague Inoculation.' 'Clemenceau South America of To-day' (5 pp.). 'Goldziher Vorlesungen über den Islam.' July. S. Nihal Singh: 'The Passing of the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade.' P. Chandra Ghosh: 'India as known to Ancient Europe,' I (with authorities). 'The Balkan War and the Indian Musalmans.' N. Subrahmanya: 'Status or Contract in Regard to the Practice of Religion.' M. Krishna Dar: 'Kipling on India.'

Analecta Bollandiana (Tom. XXXII. Fasc. II-III. June 1913. Brussels: 22, Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. Delehaye: (1) 'Vita S. Danielis Stylitae' (Greek text); (2) 'De Fontibus Vitae S. Danielis Stylitae.' P. Franchi de' Cavalieri: 'Un' antica Rappresentazione della Traslazione di S. Teodoro Studita' (In MS Vat. gr. 1613). P. Peeters: 'S. Hilarion d'Ibérie.' C. van de Vorst: 'Note sur S. Macaire de Pélécète.' L. Laurand: 'Le Cursus dans les Hagiographes dominicains.' F. van Ortroy: 'S. Ignace de Loyola et le Père Olivier Manare.'

Analecta Bollandiana (Tom. XXXII. Fasc. II-III. June 1913. Brussels: 22, Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. Delehaye: (1) 'Vita S. Danielis Stylitae' (Greek text); (2) 'De Fontibus Vitae S. Danielis Stylitae.' P. Franchi de' Cavalieri: 'Un' antica Rappresentazione della Traslazione di S. Teodoro Studita' (In MS Vat. gr. 1613). P. Peeters: 'S. Hilarion d'Ibérie.' C. van de Vorst: 'Note sur S. Macaire de Pélécète.' L. Laurand: 'Le Cursus dans les Hagiographes dominicains.' F. van Ortroy: 'S. Ignace de Loyola et le Père Olivier Manare.' U. Chevalier: 'Repertorium Hymnologicum. Addenda et Corrigenda.' P. P[eeters]: 'Charles The Book of Enoch'; 'Lewis The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert.' H. D[elehaye]: 'C. H. Turner Studies in Early Church History'; 'Van Millingen Byzantine Churches in Constantinople'; 'Cloquet Les Cathédrales et Basiliques latines, byzantines et romanes du monde catholique'; 'Ledru Les premiers Temps de l'Église de Mans'; 'Grauert Magister Heinrich der Poet in Würzburg'; 'Tafrali Topographie de Thessalonique et Thessalonique au XIVe siècle'; 'De Heeckeren Correspondance de Benoît XIV'; 'Fawtier Vie de S. Samson.' [C.] V[an] D[e] V[orst]: 'G. H. Jones Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement'; 'Mosher The Exemplum in the early Religious and Didactic Literature of England.' [F.] V[an] O[rtroy]: 'Eubel Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, 1198-1431, editio altera'; 'Celier S. Charles Borromée (1538-84)'; 'Lafenestre S. François d'Assise et Savonarole Inspirateurs de l'Artialien'; 'Gillet Histoire artistique des Ordres Mendiants'; 'Gouthier et Letourneau Vie de S. François de Sales'; 'Euvres de S. François de Sales, XVI—XVIII.'

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Vol. VIII. No. 2. 1913. Paris: 20, rue du Regard). S. Grébaut: (1) 'Les Miracles de l'Archange Ragou'êl' (ethiopic text and translation); (2) 'Salam à la Vierge Marie d'après le MS. éthiopien n° 4 de M. É. Delorme'; (3) 'Les Sept Cieux et les Sept Cercles de la Terre' (MS Paris. Bibl. Nat. etc. 64); (4) 'Les Tribus d'Origine des Apôtres' (From the same); (5) 'La mauvaise Passion de la Colère selon Evagrius, d'après le MS. éthiopien n° 3 de M. É. Delorme'; (6) 'Le Bénédicité éthiopien' (From the same). F. Nau: (1) 'La

Version syriaque de l'Histoire de Jean le Petit,' III; (2) 'La Hiérarchie ecclésiastique chrétienne d'après Masoudi'; (3) 'Historie des Solitaires égyptiens,' IX (MS. Coislin. 126); (4) 'Notes sur le Texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères.' J. Babakhan: 'Vulgarisation des Homélies métriques de Jacques de Saroug. III. Homélie sur S. Thomas, l'Apôtre de l'Hinde.' E. Porcher: 'Les Apophthegmes des Pères. Fragments coptes de Paris' (MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. copt. 129). M. Chaîne: 'Répertoire des Salam et Malke'e contenus dans les MSS. éthiopiens des Bibliothèques d'Europe.' F. Nau: 'Burkitt Euphemia and the Goth, with the

thèques d'Europe.' F. Nau: 'Burkitt Euphemia and the Goth, with the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa'; 'Vouaux Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres apocryphes'; 'Gibson The Commentaries of Isho 'dad of Merv, IV.' L. Guerrier: 'Schermann Ein Weiherrituale der römischen Kirche am Schlusse des ersten Jahrhunderts.' S. Grébaut: 'Macler Le Livre du Prophète Amos' (new translation).

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. XIV. No. 3. July 1913. Louvain: 40, rue de Namur). J. Flamion: 'S. Pierre à Rome. Examen de la Thèse et de la Méthode de M. Guignebert,' II. E. Lesne: 'La Dîme des Biens ecclésiastiques aux IXe et Xe siècles,' IV. J. de Ghellinck: 'Les Notes marginales du Liber Sententiarum,' I. F. Claeys-Bouuaert: 'Un Séminaire belge sous la Domination française. Le Séminaire de 'Les Notes marginales du Liber Sententiarum,' I. F. Claeys-Bouuaert:
'Un Séminaire belge sous la Domination française. Le Séminaire de
Gand (1794-1812).' É. Tobac: 'Prat La Théologie de S. Paul, II.'
(6½ pp.) L. Vanhalst: 'Dibelius Das Abendmahl' (4½ pp. critical).
J. Flamion: 'Delehaye Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs.' C. Callewaert
'Cezard Histoire juridique des Persécutions (A.D. 64-202).' C. van
Crombrugghe: 'Schneider Kultur u. Denken der alten Aegypter.' J.
Forget: 'Lammens Fatima et les Filles de Mahomet.' H. Lemaire:
'Wolff Tempelmasse' (critical). L. Gougaud: 'Fawtier Vie de S.
Samson'; 'Petre George Tyrrell'; 'Gooch History and Historians in
the XIXth Century' ('important'). M. Jacquin: 'Peter L'Abbaye
de Liessies en Hainaut (764-1566).' L. Baillet: 'Marx Handschriftenverzeichnis der Seminar-Bibliothek zu Trier.' F. Baix: 'Brackmann
Studien u. Vorarbeiten zur Germania pontificia' (8 pp.) L. van der Essen:
'Kleemann Papst Gregor VIII.' E. de Moreau: 'Jahncke Guilelmus
Neubrigensis.' H. de Jongh: 'Mourret Histoire génévale de l'Église.
V. La Renaissance et la Réforme.' P. Richard: 'Mourret Histoire
génévale, VI-VII' (to 1823). F. Lohier: 'Drouet L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre.'
A. de Ridder: 'P. de la Gorce Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française,
J-II.' P. Demeuldre: 'Gautherot La Démocratie révolutionnaire. De I-II.' P. Demeuldre: 'Gautherot La Démocratie révolutionnaire. De la Constituante à la Convention'; 'Rousseau G. J. Chaminade, fondateur des Marianistes (1761–1850).' J. Rambaud: 'Latreille Le Marquis de Coriolis.'

Revue des Questions Historiques (Vol. XCIV. No. 187. July 1913. Paris: 5, rue Saint-Simon). Comte L. de Voïnovitch: 'Les "Angevins" à Raguse, 1384-5,' II. P. de Vaissière: 'Le Baron des Adrets (1512-86),' II. M. Marion: 'Grèves et Rentrées judiciaires au XVIIIe siècle. Le grand exil du Parlement de Besançon (1759-61).' P. Montarlot: Le grand exil du Fariement de Besançon (1759-61). P. Montarlot: 'Un Agent de la Police Secrète (1800-1817.) J. M. François.' R. de Launay: 'La Campagne de Sabinus en Normandie (B.C. 56).' H. Froidevaux: 'Bratli Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne' (12 pp.) M. Besnier: 'Deonna L'Archéologie' (6 pp.); 'Grundy Thucydides and the History of his Age'; 'J. B. Carter Religious Life of Ancient Rome.' R. Schneider: 'Chronique de l'Histoire de l'Art.' G. Desdevises du Dezert: 'Maury Stabhalus et Histoire de l'Art.' Stockholm et Upsal' ('une très précieuse étude'). H. Gaidoz: 'K. Meyer Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century.' L. Gougaud: 'Pierquin Le Poème anglo-saxon de Béowulf.' A. Dufourcq: 'Fliche Le Règne de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1060–1108).' E. G. Ledos: 'Jahncke Guilielmus Neubrigensis'; 'Noel Œuvres complètes de Jean Tauler, VI.' J. Guiraud: 'Eubel Hierarchia Catholica, 1198–1431' 2nd edit.);

'Mollat Les Papes d'Avignon.' E. Albe: 'De Cauzons Histoire de l'Inquisition en France, II.' G. Baguenault de Puchesse: 'Heubi François Ier et le Mouvement intellectuel en France'; 'Cramer La Seig-

neurie de Genève et la Maison de Savoie.'

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses (Vol. IV. No. 4. July-August 1913. Paris: E. Nourry). A. Loisy: (1) 'Cybèle et Attis'; (2) 'Les Écrits de S. Luc, à propos d'un Livre récent' (Norden Agnostos Theos: 'pourrait bien avoir porté le coup décisif à l'opinion traditionnelle'). L. Coulange: 'Le Christ Alexandrin.' Chronique Bibliographique. P. Alfaric: 'Religions de l'Asie Centrale.' A. Loisy: 'Evans Principles of Hebrew Grammar'; 'Steurnagel Einleitung in das A.T.' ('une œuvre

magistrale'); 'Weiner Pentateuchal Studies.'

Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Vol. XXXVII. No. 3. 1913. Innsbruck: Rauch). J. B. Nisius: 'Zur Kontroverse über die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu.' F. Müller: 'Ist der Erlass Pius X über die erste hl. Kommunion der Kinder ein blosses Kirchengesetz?' W. Kratz: 'Das vierte Gelübde in der Gesellschaft Jesu.' A. Prešeren: W. Kratz: 'Das vierte Gelübde in der Gesellschaft Jesu.' A. Prešeren: 'Die Beziehungen der Sonntagsfeier zum 3. Gebot des Dekalogs,' I. T. Spačil: 'Die neueste Literatur zur "Cyprianfrage." Das Resultat der durch H. Koch veranlassten Kontroversen' (14½ pp.); 'Esser-Mausbach Religion, Christentum, Kirche, II-III' (5½ pp.). J. Brandenburger: 'Herzog Realencyhlopādie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche, XIX-XXIII.' (7½ pp.). A. Schmitt: 'Borntraeger Der Geburtenrückgang in Deutschland.' E. Michael: 'Pastor Geschichte der Päpste, VI' (7 pp.). J. Linder: 'Döller Das Buch Jona.' H. Brewer: 'Der Pseudo-Rufinische Commentarius in LXXV Psalmos ein Werk Alkuins.' A. Bukowski: 'Zur Frage der Abhängigkeit der russisch-orthodoxen A. Bukowski: 'Zur Frage der Abhängigkeit der russisch-orthodoxen Theologie vom Protestantismus.' J. B. Nisius: (1) 'Zu den Depeschen des venezianischen Gesandten Alberto Badoer(o) in Sachen der Sixtusbibel'; (2) 'Bulla "edita" et non "publicata." E. Michael: 'Zwei staats-rechtliche Fragen des hohen Mittelalters. I. Papst Innozenz III. u. die "Kaiserwahl"; II. In welchem Verhaltnis stand die Nürnberger Wahl Friedrichs II 1211 zu seiner Frankfurter Wahl 1212? F. Zorell: (1) 'Zu Mark 3, 20, 21'; (2) 'Ein symmetrischer Psalm' (Ps. cxxxvii). E. Dorsch: 'Zum Irrtumlosigket der biblischen Geschichte.'

E. Dorsch: 'Zum Irrtumlosigket der biblischen Geschichte.'

Theologisch Tijdschrift (N.S.iVol. VII. Nos. 4-5. 1913. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh). C. J. Heering: 'De Plaats van 'Zonde'' in de Vrijzinnig-christelijke Dogmatiek.' H. Y. Groenewegen: 'Eenige Opmerkingen over de Moraal van Professor La Saussaye.' K. Lake: (1) 'The End of Paul's Trial at Rome'; (2) 'Nieuw-Testamentische en Oud-christelijke Literatur.' H. Oort: 'Matt. 7: 3-5.' J. de Zwaan: 'Simon de Melaatsche.' No. 5. H. U. Meyboom: 'De Tegenwoordige Stand van het ''Jezus''-Probleem (Een Voordracht voor wetenschappelijke Leeken).' D. Sypkens: 'Openbaringen Kennisleer.' J. van Wageningen: 'Minucius Felix.' J. de Zwaan: 'Een Trekje van Paulus' Karakter.' H. Y. Groenewegen: 'P. Godet Frédéric Godet (1812–1900)'; 'L. Secrétan Charles Secrétan.'

'L. Secrétan Charles Secrétan.'

'L. Secrétan Charles Secrétan.'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IV. No. 3. 1913. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad). L. Nyegärd: 'Fortsatte Studier over Grundtvig. II. "Det levende Ord." 1825.' R. Thomsen: 'Engelsk Kirkeliv i 1912.' V. Lindegaard Petersen: 'Fransk Kirkeliv i 1912.' H. Mosbech: 'Jirku Die Dämonen u. ihre Abwehr im A.T.' (6 pp.) J. C. Jacobsen: 'Steuernagel Einleitung in das A.T.'; 'Procksch Die Genesis.' V. Lindegaard Petersen: 'Doumergue Calvin, IV.' E. Geismar: 'Bornhausen Der religiöse Wahrheitsbegriff in der Philosophie Rudolf Euckens.'

The Church Missionary Review (Vol. LXIV. Nos. 771-3. July-September 1913. C.M.S.) J. H. Oldham: 'The C.M.S. and the Present Situation.' Ven. H. G. Jones: 'The Clergy and "the New Spirit."'

T. A. Gurney: 'The Conference at Swanwick' with statements presented Visitation of the Mackenzie River Diocese.' August. J. Richter: Visitation of the Mackenzie River Diocese. August. J. Richter: 'Christian Missions in their Relation to the Religious Crisis in the Non-Christian World.' J. P. Haythornthwaite: 'The 'Apostolical Succession' of the Agra Mission.' J. D. Dathan: 'The Standing of the Members of the Early Church.' 'Bishop Whitehead in the Punjab. Extracts from his Journal.' T. Gaunt: 'The Impact of Christianity on Confucianism.' B. Hitjer: 'Wilde Schwarz u. Weiss.' 'De Groot Religion in China.' 'Soothill The Three Religions of China.' September. Most Rev. R. S. Copleston: 'The Relation of Hindu Philosophy to the Gospel' (Part of his Third Visitation Charge). J. P. S. R. Gibson: 'Karma and the Problem of Unmerited Suffering.' T. Law: 'The Trend of Thought in N. India.' G. W. Wright: 'A Tour in the Digo Country.' A. J. P. Shepherd: 'How to reach Late Diners.' B. Hitjer: 'Some German Missions.'

The East and the West (Vol. XI. No. 43. July 1913. S.P.G.) M. D.: 'Mohammedanism in Malaya.' A. Yakovlev: 'Missionary Work in Siberia.' W. E. S. Holland: 'Missionary Conferences in India.' L. Creighton: 'The Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference.' J. P. Haythornthwaite: 'India's Demand for Mass-Education and her Quest for the 'Ideal University,' 'II. H. Wyatt: 'Missionaries and the European Community in India.' 'Elwin India and the Indians.' 'Howells The Soul of India.' 'Sharrock Hinduism, Ancient and Modern.' 'Junod The Life of a S. African Tribe' (Thonga). 'Soothill The Three Religions of China.' 'J. G. Frazer Belief in Immortality, I.'

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

The more important will be noticed in Articles and Short Notices as space permits.

#### BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

ALFORD, B. H.—Jewish History and Literature under the Maccabees and Herod. Pp. xvi + 114. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. net.

ALLEN, W. C. and GRENSTED, L. W.—Introduction to the Books of the New Testament. Pp. viii + 302. (T. and T. Clark.) 5s. net.

BLAKEWAY, C. E. (Archdeacon of Stafford).—The Gospel of the Holy

Ghost: an Outline of Bible-Study based upon the Acts of the Apostles. Pp. 24 (S.P.C.K.) 3d.

Burnside, W. F.—The Gospel according to St. Luke. The Greek Text, edited with Introduction and Notes for the Use of Schools. Pp. xxxvi + 272. (Cambridge University Press.) 3s. net. A Companion Volume to Sir A. F. Hort's St. Mark by the Headmaster of St. Edmund's

School, Canterbury.

GREENUP, A. W.—Unpointed Hebrew Passages. Selected for the Use of Students. Pp. 36. (Cambridge: W. Heffer.) 1s. net.

JAMES, M. R.—Old Testament Legends: being Stories out of some of the less-known Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament. Pp. xxvi + 158. (Longmans.) 3s. 6d. net. With 10 Illustrations by H. J. Ford.
MOULE, Right Rev. H. C. G. (Bishop of Durham).—Colossian Studies.

'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. xii + 320. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

2s. net.

MUNTZ, W. S .- Rome, St. Paul, and the Early Church: the Influence of Roman Law on St. Paul's Teaching and Phraseology and on the Development of the Church. Pp. xvi + 228. (Murray.) 5s. net.

ORR, J.—The Resurrection of Jesus. The Expositor's Library.'
Pp. 292. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net.

PARKER, J.—The Epistles to the Colossians, Philemon and Thessalonians.

'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. viii + 304. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. By the late Dr. Parker of the City Temple.

'The Expositor's -.-The Epistle to the Ephesians.

Library.' Pp. viii + 272. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net.
POPE, H. (O.P.).—The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Bible. The
Old Testament. With Preface by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Pp. xliv + 466. (Washbourne.) 3s. 6d. net.
WESTCOTT, B. F.—The Gospel of the Resurrection: Thoughts on its
Relation to Reason and History. 'Theological Library.' Pp. xxxiv +

210. (Macmillan). 1s. net. WINSTANLEY, E. W.—Jesus and the Future: an Investigation into the Eschatological Teaching attributed to our Lord in the Gospels, together with an Estimate of the Significance and practical Value thereof for our own Time. Pp. viii + 416. (T. and T. Clark.) 7s. 6d. net.

#### METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS.

Telch, C.—Epitome Theologiae Moralis universae per Definitiones, Divisiones et summaria Principia pro Recollectione Doctrinae Moralis et ad immediatum usum confessarii et parochi excerptum ex 'Summa Theol. mor.' R. P. Hier. Noldin S.I. Pp. xxxii + 540. (Oeniponte: F. Rauch.) 3 marks 40.

Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences. Vol. I. Logic. By A. Ruge, W. Windelband, J. Royce, L. Couturat, B. Croce, F. Enriques, and N. Losskij. Translated by B. E. Meyer. Pp. x + 270. (Mac-

millan.) 7s. 6d. net.

#### PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND APOLOGETICS.

FORSYTH, P. T.—The Work of Christ. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. xii + 244. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Hill, R. A. P.—The Interregnum. Pp. xvi + 150. (Cambridge

University Press.) 4s. 6d. net. Twelve Essays on Religious Doubt.

ILLINGWORTH, J. R.—Divine Immanence. An Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter. 'Theological Library.' Pp. xvi + 212. (Macmillan.) Is. net.

Bampton Lectures for the Year 1894. 'Theological Library.' Pp. xvi +

274. (Macmillan.) Is. net. A convenient form of a well-known book. [Lucas, B.]—The Faith of a Christian. By A Disciple. 'Theological Library.' Pp. viii + 216. (Macmillan.) Is. net. Richmond, W.—The Risen Body. Pp. 16. (Longmans.) Is. net. A Paper read before a Society at Winchester to open a Discussion on Dr.

Sparrow Simpson's The Resurrection and Modern Thought.

Schell, H.—The New Ideals in the Gospel. Authorized Translation.

Pp. xvi + 308. (Kegan Paul.) 108. 6d. net. With 32 Illustrations, chiefly from German, Italian, and English Art.

Temple, W.—The Faith and Modern Thought: Six Lectures. With Introduction by M. E. Sapler. Pp. xii + 122. (Macmillan), 18 not Introduction by M. E. Sadler. Pp. xii + 172. (Macmillan.) 1s. net. First published in 1910, and now reprinted in the 'Theological Library.' 'Pro Christo et Ecclesia.' 'Theological Library.' Pp. xviii + 190.

(Macmillan.) 1s. net.

Verso La Fede. Scritti di R. MARIANO, F. DE SARTO, E. COMBA, G. Arbanasich, G. Luzzi, V. Tummolo, A. Crespi. Pp. xii + 224. (Roma: edita dalla Direzione della Scuola Teologica Battista.) Free on application to Dr. D. G. Whittinghill, 107 Via del Babuino, Roma.

#### COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

FRAZER, J. G.—Psyche's Task: a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions. Second edition, revised and enlarged. To which is added The Scope of Social Anthropology: an

T. Clark.) 4s. net.

#### PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

BALL, C. R.—The Holy Communion in Substance and Shadow, being Thoughts in Preparation for the Holy Communion at the Sacred Seasons and Festivals of the Church and in certain Old Testament Incidents. Pp. vi + 152. (Skeffington.) 2s. net.

BEVAN, G. M.—Unto the Perfect Day. A Collection of Prayers for the Use of Students of Sacred Theology. Pp. xx + 146. (Mowbray.)

1s. 6d. net. With commendation by the Dean of Westminster.

Giles, M.—The Ladder of Prayer. Pp. xii + 210. (Skeffington.)

2s. 6d. net.

Grafton, Right Rev. C. C. (Bishop of Fond du Lac.)—The Holy Communion. 'Plain Papers for the People.' Pp. 24. (Wells Gardner.) 1d. HILL, H. Erskine.—The Parables of the Advent. With an Introductory Chapter on The Advent and Modern Thought. Pp. vi + 94. (Skeffington.) 1s. 6d. net. Devotional Studies by the Rector of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen.

LESTER, H. A. and JENNINGS, E. B.—Simple Lessons on the Life of our Lord. 'London Diocesan Sunday School Manuals.' Pp. xii + 106. (Longmans.) 1s. 6d. net. For scholars of 8-10.

Lunn, Sir H. S.—Retreats for the Soul. With Introduction by the Bishop of Lincoln. Pp. xii + 272. (Hodder and Stoughton.) is. net. McEWEN, V.—Glimpses of the Divine Presence. With a Note by the Right Hon. G. W. E. RUSSELL. Pp. xii + 160. (Skeffington.) 2s. net. NEALE, J. M. (the late).—Sunday Readings and Stories for Children.

Pp. 248. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. 6d. net. A very welcome reprint. POTTER, J. H. and SHEARD, A. E. W.—Lessons for the Church's Children. Book II. Being the second of a Four Years' Course of Lessons for Sunday Schools and Children's Services. Pp. xvi + 202. (Skeffington.) 1s. 6d.

SCOTT, H. R.—Help to Personal Preparation for Confirmation. 'Plain Papers for the People.' Pp. 12. (Wells Gardner.) 1d. With Foreword

by the Bishop of Liverpool.

SMITH, L.—The Mighty Works of Jesus, their Reality and Truth.

Pp. x + 140. (Skeffington.) 2s. net. By the late Vicar of Alton, Hants.

STREET, L.—Divine Love in Sickness: a Collection of Devout Thoughts in Prose and Poetry. Selected and arranged. Pp. viii + 192. (Skeffington.) 2s. net. The selection is varied and good.

------.—The Lengthening Shadows: some Comforting Thoughts for the Evening of Life. Selected and arranged. Pp. viii + 102. (Skeffing-

ton.) 2s. net. Mostly poetical.

WATSON J .- The Doctrines of Grace. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. viii + 372. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. By 'Ian Maclaren.'
WENYON, C.—The Creation Story in the Light of To-day. 'The
Expositor's Library.' Pp. xii + 284. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net.
WILSON, H.—Christian Worship. 'Plain Papers for the People.'

Pp. 16. (Wells Gardner.) 1d.

From the Cradle to the Grave. Simple Instructions on the Sacraments, etc. By A Priest. Pp. xvi + 190. (Mowbray.) 1s. 6d. net.

#### PASTORALIA AND HOMILETICS.

WILLIAMS, E. J. W.—The Age for Confirmation: Based on a Study of the Book of Common Prayer. With a Foreword by the Bishop of Chichester.

Pp. 60. (J. and J. Bennett.) 1s. net.

Anecdotes and Illustrations for Pulpit Use. Selected from the Works of the Rev. H. J. WILMOT-BUXTON. Compiled by G. A. C. SMITH.

Pp. 212. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d. net.

#### SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

Benson, E. W. (late Archbishop of Canterbury).—Living Theology. Expositor's Library.' Pp. viii + 228. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Black, H.—Christ's Service of Love. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. 326. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Sermons by the Professor of Practical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Botelue, W. E.—The Soul in Paradise: Five Discourses on the Unseen World. Pp. vi + 90. (Skeffington.) 1s. 6d. net. Lenten Addresses by the Vicer of Patranyura Corplete.

by the Vicar of Ratnapura, Ceylon.

BOUQUET, A. C.—A Point of View. Pp. viii + 182. (Longmans.)

3s. 6d. net.

BROOKS, PHILLIPS (Bishop of Massachusetts).—The Candle of the Lord and Nine other Sermons. 'Theological Library.' Pp. vi + 182.

(Macmillan.) 1s. net. 

and cheaply reprinted.

CRAWFURD, L. P.—Beyond the Gate. Pp. viii + 136. (Skeffington.)

2s. net. Addresses in Lent by the Vicar of Ramsgate.

CREIGHTON, M. (late Bishop of London).—The Heritage of the Spirit and other Sermons. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. vi + 216. (Hodder

and Stoughton.) 2s. net.

DUDDEN, F. H.—The Influence of Woman in the Home and in Society. Pp. 24. (Mowbray.) 4d. net. Address delivered at the Conference of the London Branch of the Mothers' Union, at the Church House, Westminster, May 2, 1913.

Herbert, G. W.—Notes on Sermons. New and Cheaper Edition. Pp. viii + 290. (Skeffington.) 3s. 6d. net. Reprint of the sermon notes of the late Vicar of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, as edited by his son.

Hitchcock, F. R. M.—Harvest Thoughts for Preachers and People.

Pp. 144. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. 6d.

Holden, J. S.—Life's Flood Tide. 'Preachers of To-day' Series.

Pp. xii + 212. (R. Scott.) 3s. 6d. net.

Hort, F. J. A. (the late).—Sermons on the Books of the Bible. Selected from the Volume of Village Sermons. 'Theological Library.' 'Theological Library.' Pp. viii + 144. (Macmillan.) 1s. net.

190. (Macmillan.) 1s. net. Two welcome reprints.

MORTIMER, A. G.—One Hundred Miniature Sermons. Vol. I. Advent to Trinity Sunday. Vol. II. The Sundays after Trinity, also all the Saints' Days and some occasional Sermons. Pp. xviii + 342, xvi + 334. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d. each net. New and cheaper edition.

Moule, Right Rev. H. C. G. (Bishop of Durham). - Christ is All. 'Expositor's Library.' Pp. x + 238. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. NewBolt, W. C. E.—The Cardinal Virtues. 'The Expositor's Library.'

Pp. viii + 210. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Sermons at St.

Paul's: a reprint.

Paul's: a reprint.

G. H.—Ways of Consecration.

C. Alban's Diou Three Addresses to Candidates for Ordination in St. Alban's Diocese, September 1912. Pp. 48. (S.P.C.K.) 1s.

RYLE, Right Rev. H. E. (Dean of Westminster).— Remember the Days of Old.' Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey before the Members of the International Historical Congress on Sunday, April 6, 1913. Pp. 8. (Oxford University Press.) 6d. net.

Selbie, W. B .- Aspects of Christ. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp.

X + 280. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Addresses at Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, by the Principal of Mansfield.
WILBERFORCE, B. (Archdeacon of Westminster).—Speaking Good of His Name. 'The Expositor's Library.' Pp. xii + 242. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2s. net. Sermons preached in the Abbey, 1902. The Preface refers to a Photograph at the beginning of the book which is not reproduced in the Reprint.

Plain Sermons for the Christian Year. New and cheaper edition. Pp. xii

+ 444. (Skeffington.) 3s. 6d. net.

Sunday Schools and Religious Education: Sermons and Addresses.

Edited by H. A. LESTER and M. STEVENSON. With Introduction by the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Pp. viii + 148. (Longmans.) 3s. 6d.

#### LITURGIOLOGY AND MUSIC.

ATCHLEY, C.—Missa de Angelis: a new Version, adapted from the

Vatican Kyriale. Pp. 8. (Mowbray.) 3d.

BAYLAY, A. M. Y.—A Century of Collects. Selected and translated. 'Alcuin Club Prayer Book Revision Pamphlets,' III. Pp. iv + 42.

(Mowbray.) is. net.

Staley, V.—The Greater Holy Days of the Kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer. 'Churchman's Penny Library,' No. 37. Pp. 48.

(Mowbray.) 1d.

#### MISSIONS.

CRAWFORD, E. M.—By the Equator's Snowy Peak: a Record of Medical Missionary Work and Travel in British East Africa. With a Preface by the Bishop of Mombasa and a Foreword by Eugene Stock. Pp. iv + 176. (C.M.S.) 2s. 6d. net.

PATON, F. H. L.—The Kingdom in the Pacific. Pp. viii + 154. (C.M.S.)

Is. net.

#### HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Bumpus, T. F.—The Cathedrals of Southern France. Pp. viii + 224. (T. Werner Laurie.) 6s. net. With Map and 50 Illustrations.

CANFIELD, L. H.—The Early Persecutions of the Christians. 'Columbia University Studies in Political Science,' Vol. IV. No. 2. Pp. 216. (New York: Columbia University. Longmans.) I dollar 50.
COOPER-MARSDIN, A. C.—The History of the Islands of the Lerins: the

Monastery, Saints and Theologians of S. Honorat. Pp. viii + 336. (Cam-

bridge University Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

GAIRDNER, J .- Lollardy and the Reformation in England. An Historical Survey. Vol. IV. Edited by W. Hunt. Pp. xiv + 422. (Macmillan.) Tos. 6d. net.

GOBINEAU, ARTHUR (COUNT) .- The Renaissance. Savonarola-Cesare

Borgia-Julius II-Leo X-Michael Angelo. English edition, edited by O. Levy. Pp. lxvi + 350. (Heinemann.) 10s. net. Hollis, G.—How the Church was Reformed in England. Pp. xii + 138.

Hollis, G.—How the Church was Reformed in England. Pp. xii + 138. (Mowbray.) rs. net. With 16 Illustrations.

Hope, W. H. St. John.—Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers. 'Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks.' Pp. 426. (London: Hogg.) 7s. 6d. net. With Diagrams by the Author and numerous Illustrations, coloured Lithographs, and Collotype Reproductions.

Sweetapple, H. D. S.—England's Mother Church. Pp. 32. (S.P.C.K.) 3d. Diocesis Wyntoniensis: Registrum Johannis de Pontissara. Pars Prima. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications,' Part xxxiii. March 1913. Pp. 128. (London: For the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.) See Short Notice

Short Notice.

Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper, S.T.P., Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1571 to A.D. 1584. Edited by C. W. Foster. Canterbury and York Society Publications,' Extra Part. 1912-13. (London: For the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.) See Short Notice. Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. mcccxxviimccckliv. Edited by W. W. Capes. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications,' Part xxxiv. June 1913. Pp. viii + viii + 244. (London: For the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.) See Short Notice.

Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolniensis, A.D. mccxxxv-mccliii.

Transcribed and edited by F. N. Davis. Pars Quinta. 'Canterbury and York Society Publications,' Part xxxv. September 1913. Pp. viii + xii + 449-558. (London: For the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.)

The Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. 11. The Rise of the Saracens and the Foundation of the Western Empire. Pp. xxiv + 890. (Cambridge Medieval Post of the Saracens and the Foundation of the Western Empire.)

University Press.) 20s. net. With separate Portfolio of 14 Maps.

#### Social and Economic Questions.

LIDDELL, Mrs. EDWARD.—Debt. 'The Church and Citizenship' series, No. 4. Pp. iv + 16. (Mowbray.) 2d.

RUSSELL, Right Hon. G. W. E.—Christianity and the Vote. 'The Church and Citizenship' series, No. 3. Pp. iv + 2o. (Mowbray.) 2d.

TRYON, J. L.—A Permanent Court of International Justice: a Suggestion for the Programme Committee of the Third Hague Conference. Pp. 18. (Boston, Mass.: 31 Beacon Street.) By the Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. Reprinted from the Yale Law Journal.

#### EDUCATION.

OPPENHEIM, A. I.—The Child and how to train it. Pp. viii + 172. (London: F. L. Ballin.) 2s. 6d. net. Reprinted from Baby.

TILLYARD, A. I.—A History of University Reform from A.D. 1800 to the Present Time, with Suggestions towards a complete Scheme for the University of Cambridge. Pp. xvi + 392. (Cambridge: Heffer.) 10s. net.

Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools. A Report of a Conference held at Oxford 22-23 April 1913. Second Year. Edited by H. CRADOCK-

WATSON. Pp. viii + 94. (Cambridge University Press.) 1s. 6d. net.

#### POETRY.

E., A.—Collected Poems. Pp. xvi + 276. (Macmillan.) 6s. net. Hall, W. R.—Glimpses of the Unseen. Pp. 48. (London: Elkin Mathews.) Is. net.

RICKARDS, M. S. C.—A Soul's Symphony. Pp. x + 148. (Clifton:

TENNYSON, C.—The Shorter Poems of Frederick Tennyson. Edited, with an Introduction. Pp. xxxvi + 216. (Macmillan.) 5s. net.

Reullera: Filio unice dilecto. Pp. 32. (London: Elkin Mathews.)

rs. net. A touching little book of poems.

#### NOVELS AND STORIES.

HEWLETT, M.—Bendish: A Study in Prodigality. Pp. viii + 306.

(Macmillan.) 6s.

NEALE, I. M. (the late).—The Two Huts. Pp. 46. (S.P.C.K.) 6d. A story told to the children of S. Katherine's Orphanage, East Grinstead. Wells, H. G.—The Passionate Friends. A Novel. Pp. viii + 356. (Macmillan.) 6s.

#### BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

BAX, C.—Friendship. 'Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii + 54. (Batsford.) 2s. net.

CANNAN, G .- The Joy of the Theatre. 'Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii +

60. (Batsford.) 2s. net.

FITZGERALD, P.-Worldlyman, a Modern Morality of our Day: setting forth how he passed from Death to Life, from Sin to Virtue; how he was lost and how he was found, by the Agency of the good Father S. Sepulchre both going down in the 'Leviathan' Liner. Pp. 150. (Burns and Oates.) 2s. 6d. net.

GUTHRIE, J.—Divine Discontent. 'Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii + 62.

(Batsford.) 2s. net.

LITTELL, J. S.-Washington: Christian. 'Stories of Cross and Flag,' No. 1. Pp. 36. (Keene, New Hampshire: The Hampshire Art Press.) 25 cents, post paid. Apart from the interest of the letterpress, the beauty and variety of the Illustrations make this book well worth possessing.

RHYS, G.—The Quest of the Ideal. 'Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii + 70.

(Batsford.) 2s. net. S.NDERS, E. K.—Vincent de Paul, Priest and Philanthropist. Pp.

xxiv + 420. (Heath, Cranton and Ouseley, Ltd.) 16s. net. SMITH, H.—Interludes (Sixth Series): Being Two Essays, Stray Thoughts

and some Verses. Pp. viii + 74. (Macmillan.) 5s.

TAIT, C. J.—Springtime. Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii + 64. (Batsford.) 2s. net.

THOMAS, E.—The Country. 'Fellowship Books.' Pp. ii +62. (Batsford.) 2s. net.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

ACLAND, H. D.—The Laity and Church Councils. Pp. 28. (S.P.C.K.) 3d. CHARLTON, Hon. Mrs.—Cruelties in India: Animals in their Relation

to the Empire. Pp. 20. (London: York House, Portugal Street, W.C.)
2d. post free. Reprinted from the Nineteenth Century.

Darken, E. M.—On the Circulation of Energy and Matter. Pp. 28. (Wellington, N.Z.: W. J. Lankshear.) The writer's last work was The Evolution of Life from Fire: in the present one he finds the origin of Life

in an ice-crystal.

GRAHAM, S.-With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem. Pp. x + 306.

(Macmillan.) 7s. 6d. net. With 38 Illustrations, and a Map.
WELCKER, A.—A Book relating to the Art Work of the Fire and the Method by which the City that needs no Sun may be built up. Pp. iv + 18. (London: W. Stewart.) 1s. This book claims to be the consummation of the account of the Codex Sinaiticus: it is really an expression of a philosophy of life which would be more easily intelligible if the author would re-write it without using parentheses.

First Report of the Association Concordia of Japan. Pp. ii + 130.

(Tokyo.)

Have Ye Never Read? Pp. viii + 136. (Bible House, Queen Victoria Street, London.) The Popular Illustrated Report of B.F.B.S. 1912-13.

The Hundred and Ninth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year ending March mcmxiii. With Appendix and List of Subscribers and Benefactors. Pp. xviii + 552 + 230. (Bible House.)

# Scottish Widows' Fund

MUTUAL

# Life Assurance Society

ESTABLISHED 1815.

## The Largest Office for Mutual Life Assurance in the United Kingdom

Accumulated Funds Annual Revenue Claims Paid Policies in force for £21,500,000 . 2,350,000 40,000,000 46,000,000



### The Whole Profits are divided among the Members.

The next Division will take place at 31st December 1913. and Policies to participate therein

#### SHOULD BE APPLIED FOR WITHOUT DELAY

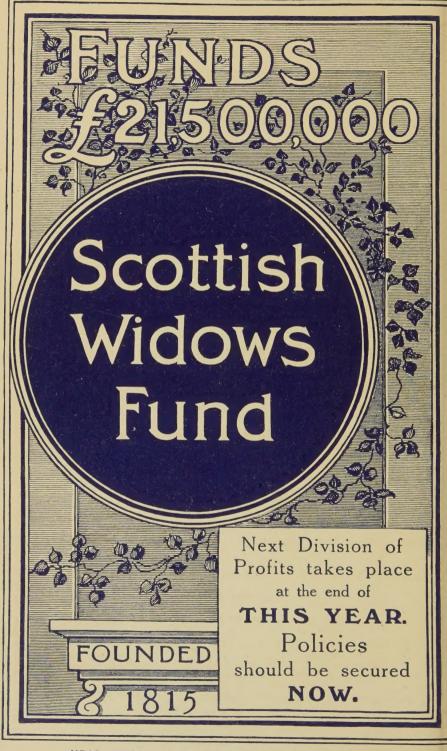
Quotations and Bonus-Year Prospectus sent on application.

HEAD OFFICE: EDINBURGH, 9 ST. ANDREW SQUARE. LONDON: 28 CORNHILL, E.C., & 5 WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

Dublin . . 41 WESTMORELAND ST. Glasgow . 114 W. GEORGE STREET. Liverpool . 48 Castle Street. Belfast . . . 2 High Street. Manchester 21 Albert Square. Bristol . . . . 28 Baldwin Street.

Birmingham . 12 BENNETT'S HILL. Leeds . . . 21 Park Row. Belfast . . 2 High Street

Newcastle-on-Tyne . . . 12 GREY STREET.



# Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

#### New Publications.

- THE LATEST LIGHT ON BIBLE LANDS. By P. S. P. HANDCOCK, M.A., formerly of the British Museum, Lecturer of the Palestine Exploration Fund. With numerous Illustrations. Large crown 8vo. cloth boards, 6s. net.
- MODERN SUBSTITUTES FOR TRADITIONAL CHRISTIANITY. By the Rev. Canon E. McClure. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 2s. net.
- MODERN RATIONALISM.
  AS SEEN AT WORK IN ITS BIOGRAPHIES. By Canon HENRY
  LEWIS, M.A. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 4s. net.
- THE WONDERS OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY. EXPLAINED IN SIMPLE TERMS FOR THE NON-TECHNICAL READER. By J. A. Fleming, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. With numerous Diagrams and other Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 3s. 6d. net.

  [Now Ready.]
- THE CHINESE PEOPLE.
  A HANDBOOK ON CHINA. By the Venerable Arthur Evans Moule,
  D.D. With Map and 16 Illustrations. Large crown 8vo. cloth boards, 5s. net.
- BUTTERFLIES AND MOTHS.
  IN ROMANCE AND REALITY. By W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S. With
  28 Coloured Plates and other Illustrations. Small 4to. cloth, 5s. net.
- THOUGHTS ON ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL. A Help to Meditation.

By Edith Hook. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 2s. 6d. net. [Now Ready.

## A COMPARISON BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND THEOSOPHY.

A Lecture by Principal A. G. Fraser, of Ceylon. Small post 8vo. paper cover, 4d. net.

#### THE LAWS OF THE EARLIEST GOSPEL.

Five Lectures on the Gospel according to St. Mark. By the Rev. E. H. Pearce, M.A., Canon of Westminster. Small post 8vo. cloth boards, 1s. net.

#### LECTURES TO CLERGY AT CAMBRIDGE, 1913.

Small post 8vo. paper cover, 6d. each net.

- The Chalcedonian Doctrine of the Incarnation. By the Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D.
- The Old Testament in the Christian Church. By the Rev.
- The Aim and Scope of Philosophy of Religion. By the Rev. F. R. TENNANT, D.D.
- The Odes of Solomon. Two Lectures by the Right Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., Bishop of Ossory.
- Two Cambridge Divines of the Seventeenth Century.— Launcelot Andrewes and John Pearson. By the Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D.

London: 9 NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.; 43 QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C. Brighton: 129 NORTH STREET.

# Archbishops' Western Canada Fund.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York appeal for

£20,000

this year for Western Canada.

It is a 'decisive hour' in the history of our Church in Canada.

Will you help in this Great Work?

Canon Beal, the Secretary of the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund, will be glad to receive funds or give information.

THE CHURCH HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.